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SMALL TOWNS

AN ESTIMATE OF THEIR TRADE AND CULTURE

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SMALL TOWNS

AN ESTIMATE OF THEIR TRADE AND CULTURE

BY

WALTER BURR

PROFESSOR OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

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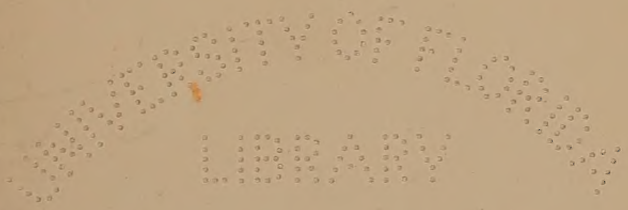

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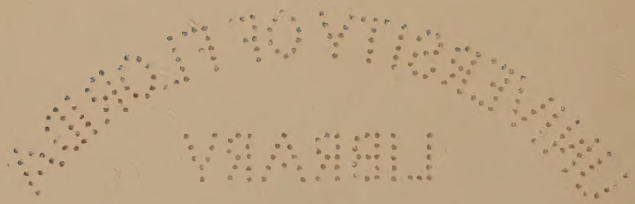

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PREFACE

After fifteen years spent in the study of the rural community in the United States, with field observation and experience particularly in the Middle West, I have wanted frankly to picture the community as I see it.

There has been no attempt here to follow trails blazed by others, or to hold to orthodox views concerning the situation. If the book shall provoke discussion and criticism among those who may differ with me, it will have rendered a real service.

Some of the material has appeared in magazines during the past few years and I am indebted to the managing editors for the privilege to make use of it here. Appreciation for this privilege is due *Successful Farming, The Independent, The Farm Journal, Capper Farm Press, The Etude, Nation's Business, The Rotarian* and *The Kiwanis Magazine.*

Walter Burr.

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CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND

THE problems of the "new community" are inseparably connected with those of the agricultural area. These, in turn, cannot be understood without knowing their historic background.

There is a tendency to consider the "agricultural situation" as a thing that has presented itself suddenly within the past few years since the World War. Many leaders of projects in relation to it start with the assumption that in the period of inflation during and immediately at the close of the war, all prices ascended, and that in the period of deflation prices on everything the farmer has to buy remained high and the prices on everything he has to sell became low, and that this precipitated an "agricultural situation." They have averred that there is an emergency, and that it is of such a nature that Congress should do something in the way of extending "farm relief" to meet the emergency. The extreme advocates of Congressional action, assumed that with the passage of a relief measure of some

kind, the rural population "would live happy ever after".

While a situation may become unexpectedly acute, yet that is only the culmination of preceding processes that go back indefinitely into the living and experience of the past. It is the charlatan who finds diagnosis easy, and prescribes a panacea.

One might name this, then, as the first of the many current fallacies about rural life in America at the present time; the fallacy that teaches that it is a *new presentation,* and due to unjust manipulation of the economic factors with which men deal as between farming and other industries.

One who reads the history of the United States in some other terms than those of the Fourth of July orator realizes that from colonial times, we have had an agricultural problem. It has been the problem of how to adjust the attitudes of a pioneer, struggling, back-country population, to the attitudes of the rest of the world. In the early colonial legislative assemblies, this conflict was constant. In Pennsylvania the Quaker merchants of the coastal area, protected by the pioneer outposts, taught a gospel of non-resistance against the Indians, and boasted that in all their trading they had experienced no difficulties with the natives. But the Quakers were in the conservative and protected commercial area of the time, while the Scotch-Irish, the Germans, and the Irish were out in the back-country trying to carve out their farms, and fighting the elements and the Indians and all the other

forces of the wilderness. It seems to be a fact that the Quaker ruling group at times came alarmingly near to taking the part of the hostile Indians toward this back-country population.

The slogan "No taxation without representation" was invented and used first by the pioneer farmers of the back country, against the planters and merchants of the tidewater areas. The Virginia planter was not a "farmer" in the sense in which we use the word today. He was a plantation owner and manager, a gentleman of leisure, and to a considerable extent a planter-merchant. He professed to be a substantial, cultured business man of the times. Beyond the piedmont region were the settlers who had "gone west" following the lure of land, and were making farms in the wilderness. They did not even have local government, the gentlemen planters and the merchants of the tidewater region assuming that as their own prerogative. The Regulator movement in North Carolina was nothing other than the uprising of farmers in a determination to escape from the domination of the conservative and absentee business element. The Revolution itself was in the main a movement fomented by the pioneer, back-country farmers. Because the powers of the governing classes were granted by the British Crown, the attack of the back country upon that governing class was an attack upon England. The theory that there should be no government without the consent of the governed, was a theory propounded by pioneer farmer leaders, before it ever

became a theory to be used in advocating American independence.

To understand the American farming element, one must follow that element in its migration from the Alleghanies to the Rockies. We have here nothing comparable to the European farming class, where the same families have been on the same farms for many hundreds of years. Our farm population has been a moving population, always trekking west to take up new lands, always misunderstanding the established interests "back east" and always misunderstood by them.

Possibly we might learn a lesson at this point by the experience of South Africa. There the great trek into the interior continued wave upon wave. As the more established coast interests became wealthy they enroached upon the back country, offering for the land a tempting price and at the same time bringing in conservative institutions and practices that were objectionable to the "Boers". The earlier settlers for the most part shook their fists at the conservative gentlemen who were crowding upon them from the coast, sold their land, and trekked farther into the wilderness. They exterminated the Bushman, and to a considerable extent the Hottentot, and enslaved and crossed with the Bantu. Always the back country in South Africa has fought the tidewater. Now the movement has gone to the place where there is no wilderness to which they can trek. In South Africa this has meant that the pioneer farmers have left their farms, and settled down

to become the "poor white" problem of that part of the world. This is the period in which government is seeking to handle that particular problem.

American farming has been conditioned upon the lure for free land—and if not "free", then as nearly free as possible. It never has seemed to occur to the pioneer that the land is only a basis for operations, and that even the addition of labor units provided by himself and family would not be sufficient to insure economic production; that there must be ample *capital* also to balance the factors of land and labor. In the days of the great westward migrations when self-seeking politicians were "representing" the farmers of the west, and trying to secure the best possible land grants for them, nobody seems to have realized the importance —yes, the absolute necessity—of placing upon the land only those persons who had, aside from units of labor, also *capital* with which to finance the agricultural project.

After the Harrison Land Act, prior to 1800, Congress was besieged with demands from western politicians, to get the government to give the land away absolutely free of charge, or to reduce the prices at which it was held; and on through even our homestead days, to allow the deferring of payments, or under certain circumstances their entire annulment.

The western farmers have always been in debt either directly or indirectly. This has very greatly influenced the development of the community. When it was necessary to make an eighty dollar payment down in

order to settle on a homestead, the pioneer usually borrowed that eighty, on short time, from well-to-do individuals in the east, or from a bank in the east with a substantial individual as security. He came upon the land without equipment, and already in personal debt. When his next payments came due, he had not yet made enough money, along with the job of building out of the forest or the sod his house and barns and fences, to make the payment; so he borrowed again. He borrowed to "prove up", and mortgaged the land in order to secure title to it. The mortgage companies were in the east. Their representatives, however, were in the local town, therefore the town often seemed to be in league with the creditor. The farmer had started what should have been a sound economic business proposition, without capital, without any assurance of success in the near future, and in debt for more than he was worth. In certain western states one can travel for a day in a car across land that was at one time taken back from the original settlers by eastern mortgage companies, and later sold again by them at less than the amount of the original loan.

The debtor, when he cannot pay and is crowded to pay (and the creditor must crowd him if the creditor is to stay in business) hates the creditor. The longer the debt is owed, the more he is likely to hate the one to whom it is owed. So "the West", as it has moved wave by wave from the Alleghanies westward, has owed the conservative East. The East *was* conserva-

tive because it had the money to loan—and the East had the money to loan because it was conservative. The farmers of the West (and that means the small struggling farmers all over America) have distrusted and looked with suspicion upon the banking interests of their towns, and the conservative east where the original creditors lived. It is not difficult for the debtor to come to believe that the creditor is cruel, and that in some way the debtor is *justified* in having his debt forgiven.

This was doubly bad when the *government* was the creditor, which was the case under the old land laws. If the debtor tended to hate and mistrust the creditor, then the farmer who owed the government for his land turned his hate and mistrust against the government.

There can be no other explanation of the rise of "Jeffersonian Democracy" than this: that the small farmers of the back country were against government —especially since much of it was *absentee* government, —and readily assented to the dogma: "that government is best that governs least". So as in the old Granger days, the Alliance days, and Populist days, on down to Non-Partisan League days, and the Farm Bloc days—it has not been difficult to get those who seemed to be failing and even sometimes losing their property, to take a stand against the government—to assume in some way that the government, dominated by "back east" interests, was to blame. Therefore government can and must give relief,—and "we will

not play the game with the government if it does *not* give relief."

The recent demand from certain politicians for a legislative farm relief program runs true to form. It is no new thing. It is the voice of the "West"—and it makes no difference whether that west was western Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina; or the southwest of the "Cotton Kingdom" in its day; or the Populistic cry of Kansas or the demand of North Dakota for a farmer-controlled government to take the place of the one controlled by "Big Biz"—it is all the same voice.

It is the voice of those who have pioneered, and have felt the punishment of all pioneers. They are young, ambitious and poor—they lose their youth, their ambition is thwarted, and they become chronically poor in their estimation of themselves. People who were brought up in their youth through "grasshopper days" are likely to have a "grasshopper days" psychosis ever after. It was quite noticeable in the semi-arid regions during the World War and just at its close, that those sections that had been visited with killing drouths and therefore where the people were the least prosperous, gave the largest membership to the Non-Partisan League. Here was an agent who told the man who was hurt, actually what and who was hurting him. It was the government, run by "Big Biz". The hurt man borrowed, if necessary, the sixteen dollar membership fee, in order to join the movement against the capital-supported government. The man who told him it was

the drouth that was hurting him, and not big business or the administration, got no hearing.

Another fallacy is the notion that the uprisings from the tidewater westward have been uprisings of all the people, or even of a great majority of them. If it ever had been so, and especially if the merchants and bankers who serve the farmers had gone with them in the movement, the North-South cleavage and the Civil War which it precipitated would seem like a Sunday School picnic to what would have resulted from the East-West cleavage.

Many of the farmers of the west have been decidedly successful. They have accumulated lands and houses and machinery. In many cases they have been able to retire to city homes, owning at the same time from one to three or four country places, which they have rented out to other farmers.

The successful farmer is like every other successful man—he becomes a conservative. As long as things are going decidedly to his liking in economic terms, he wishes the government just to let him alone. The status quo suits him exactly, and he wants no one to upset it. Jacksonian democracy was defeated in its contest with the Whigs, exactly due to this development of successful farmers in the old West and Southwest. As those sections ceased to be "pioneer"—as the unsuccessful farmers had either let go and migrated to free lands again, or had changed their fortunes and become successful,—there was not the solid revolutionary back-country element, determined to change the existing

order. The New England bankers, the Virginia Planters, the tidewater merchants, and the successful farm owners of the south and old west, could form the "unholy alliance" which was called the Whig party, because they had one thing in common—namely, that conservatism which was determined to worship "the god of things as they are."

The people of the West have not been united in favor of "farm relief". Of course, political aspirants coming from any walk of life, and needing a shibboleth, may use this one as well as any other. But among the ordinary citizens there has been no unanimity on the subject. The merchants and bankers and for the most part the professional men have not wanted it. Their success seems to depend upon maintaining the present status, and opposing experimental change of any kind. Among the farmers who have demanded relief, no considerable number agree on what the kind or amount of relief should be. Of course in every calling there is always that element that will be on the side that petitions for relief whenever there seems to be any chance of securing any kind from any source. The farm population is just like all other human nature, and so has in its midst this element. The writer saw letters when announcement was made that according to the Smith-Lever Act women were also to receive aid in home making—letters which in substance said, "I understand that the government has made an appropriation to be used by women in home making. I am writing to enquire where and in what way I must apply to get my

share of the money". Anyone who has had experience in city charity work or disaster relief administration, realizes that we may always count on a certain type in any class to be there when the help is being passed out. The city people are just like the farmers in having their share of this kind of folks.

The successful farmer is likely to be a stock holder and a member of the board of directors of The First National Bank in his county seat town. He has some investments in stocks and bonds. He is a conservative. He is likely to be chairman of the school board, elder in the church and superintendent of the Sunday School. He is a regular fellow. Therefore he wants to be counted in with the regular fellows. He is a conservative of the conservatives. And a few of these farmers live in the same voting precinct with the other kind. Therefore when the appeal comes up for the government to do something for the farmer, as far as the eminently successful farmer is concerned: "There is no speech nor language; his voice is not heard". He scarcely even goes out of his way to say anything in *opposition* to the appeal the other and more noisy ones are making. He waits until he goes to the polls, and then quietly casts his vote for those whom he believes are "safe and sane", and can "keep cool".

Bernard Shaw spoke a great truth when he said, "Everyman's attitude toward society is conditioned upon the source of his income". When the farmer becomes a successful capitalist (as he does if he becomes a successful farmer), he is strong for capitalism,

with its doctrine of "every man for himself and the devil take the hindermost". When he is unsuccessful and about to lose his all, he becomes inclined to ask that, through government or otherwise, we share more nearly alike in the good things as they are being passed around.

Do they not tell us that 96% of all men who go into retail business fail? Of course, that is a kind of business which is on a money economy basis entirely, and a slump means that the thing goes into bankruptcy. It has been so that a farmer could fail in his business as a farmer, and still stay on the farm—a failure all his life. There are probably no statistics available, then, as to the percentage of farmers who fail. If the percentage of farm failures is not as large as that of retail failures (and there are evidences that it is not) then it is a pretty good indication that by and large the farmer is a better business man than is the retailer. One of the tragic facts of life is that the great majority of people are failures or partial failures in whatever they undertake to do. Therefore to say that a great many farmers are failures is to honor them by placing them in the class of common human kind. Now let someone appear and declare that the existing economic system supported always by the existing administration, is the cause of failure, and of course rather than to believe it is our own fault, we are likely to raise the banner of that leader and follow him in driving off the scapegoat. We all are inclined to look for alibis for our own weaknesses.

One fallacy in people's thinking with regard to the agricultural situation, is the general Anglo-Saxon obsession that every one ought to have the right to a little piece of land, and a living from it. Is that a left-over from the days of feudalism—an attaching of the man to the soil and keeping him there—only now having the man own the soil instead of the soil owning the man?

In the days of self-sufficiency, it was essential that a man have a piece of the soil from which no one could drive him. "Put the poor man on the land", meant that on the land he could raise all the raw materials for food and clothing for himself and family, and among them they could make them up into the finished and usable articles. Otherwise he had no sure access to the prime necessities of life. Flax for linen, sheep for wool, cow-hides for leather for shoes, animals for meat, the timber for materials for the house and barns —how else was he to get all this unless he had access to the land upon which it all grows?

We passed out of that self-sufficiency age long ago. In the industrial period, one does not need a piece of the land in order to get the necessities of life. The entire economy system has changed. In fact, a majority of the people of America get their livings without owning any farm land on which to raise the raw materials, and they probably get better livings than do many of those who have access to the land.

It is a favorite practice of some of our professional leaders of agrarian uprisings, to tell us about the great holdings of the decadent days of Rome, and that there

was no land for the poor man; and then to compare what is happening in America, and predict the fall of America because her farm population is becoming smaller and individual holdings larger. That should be excused in a high school boy's oration, for Greece and Rome have been preserved in history and the classics for just such adolescent effusions. They are harmless, and provide good means of forensic exercise. When a student of economic and social history compares the problems of agriculture and country life of today, with those of any period before the beginning of the industrial revolution, he surely is either hopelessly ignorant of the chief reasons for calling it a "revolution", or else he is purposely deceiving in order to get the acclaim of a class whose support he desires.

In the specialization that has come with modern industrial processes, the farm is no longer a place where one is primarily to raise the raw materials on which he and his family are to live. It is not even the place where he is to raise these and sell them directly to the neighbor, or exchange them for some commodity which the neighbor can supply. No man's living is dependent any more upon him and his family living on a piece of farm land. The farm has become a great business enterprise, out of which a man is to make profits in terms of money; just as a man is to make such profits out of any other great business enterprise. His products share this in common with manufactured articles: they seek world markets, and are sold on a pecuniary basis. He no longer must have a maple grove or a field of cane in order to get sugar; he may buy it,

"white granulated", at the store. It comes from Cuba for him. He sells the hides of his steers, and the great shoe manufacturing concern in turn buys them from the dealer in hides, and sells its shoes to a jobber or wholesaler who sells them in turn to the retailer—and the farmer buys the shoes from the store just like any other man does. In this modern system, there is no more reason to say that every man has a right to success on a piece of land called a farm, than there is to say that every man has a right to success in a retail store or a bank or in any other business enterprise.

"What we need to do, is to put the poor man on the land!" exclaims the agitator. We do not need to put the poor man on the land today any more than we need to place him in charge of a grocery store or a silk counter, or help him to start a bank. The poor man (meaning the man without capital) has no right to go into business of any kind today, and expect to succeed. The poor man needs a job, and needs it under such conditions of labor that he can, if a good manager and frugal, accumulate a surplus. He may do as he wishes to do with that surplus: invest it in stocks and bonds or go into a business for himself. If when he has accumulated capital, he wishes to go into the business of farming, he does so at the risk of his own judgment as to whether or not he will be successful at that business. In other words, we have come upon the time, and we should just as well face it, where "the land" is no place for a man without capital. If one wishes to advocate that we change the system from a capitalistic one to a socialistic one, that is different;

he has a perfect right to advocate such a change. He could do so and be consistent. But it is difficult to see how one could come short of that and at the same time talk about "putting the poor man on the land", or giving government relief to people who are in any kind of business. If this same argument applies as against a protective tariff system, let those who have been fattening on that type of "relief" at least get their feet out of the trough. Let us go forward with fair competition under a capitalistic system, or abandon that system and try the experiment of a socialistic system—and see whether we go forward or backward. Russia has been trying the experiment for us.

The last fallacy to be mentioned here is the assumption that farming interests and other business interests are necessarily and always in conflict with each other. They are not, any more than the business of manufacturing rubber tires is always and necessarily in conflict with the business of manufacturing shoes. The rubber tire manufacturer supplies the shoe man with tires for his automobile, and the shoe man sells the rubber tire manufacturer shoes for his feet. It is the relationship of buyer and seller, and it is a mutual relationship. The old statement that the farmer is a producer and the city man a consumer, and that therefore there must be always enmity between them, is no longer true to fact. In the days of the tractor, the combine, and the auto truck, the city man is also a producer and the farmer a consumer. They are in business in the same economic system, which is a highly capitalized, competitive, pecu-

niary system. One may say that agriculture is basic, because without the farmer we could not live. Under present conditions one might just as truly say that manufacturing is basic, because without the manufacturer we could not live,—as we are *required* to live under modern conditions. If all manufactured goods and machinery and equipment suddenly went out of existence, there would be widespread starvation, at certain seasons even among the farm people themselves. There are areas in America where the farmers might do better to start a movement to bring in manufacturing plants, rather than to further develop agriculture. For such plants would bring needed articles close to the farm, would attract a larger near-by industrial population, and create a near market for farm produced goods. In such an area, instead of saying, "Since agriculture is basic to life, we must bend all our energies to developing agriculture," they might better be saying, "Since industry is absolutely necessary to successful modern agriculture, we must do everything in our power to develop manufacturing industry."

If we can get away a little while from the professional uplifters and the self-seeking politicians, and do some clear thinking, we may discover that we are all in this new economic situation *together,* and that the good old law of balanced proportions, as well as being the basis of a policy for individual and corporate business, is the only sound foundation for building a community or a nation.

CHAPTER II

THE PIONEER AMERICAN COMMUNITY

The old community in America is very clearly distinguished from the old community in England and on the continent. This is due to the fact that the American type was in its day "new", while the old world type developed through long periods of social and economic evolution. One would need to go far back into the time of the early centuries to find anything like "beginnings" in the old world community life. *Changes* can be found as human groupings shift due to changing economic, political, and social conditions.

Turner has well said that America is a record of development from "beginning to beginning". America has been a westward movement, and this movement has seen the building of communities apparently out of nothing.

The pioneer community can be traced in its migrations from the Atlantic coast, across the Alleghenies through the middle west, the far west, and to the Pacific. From the beginning of our colonial period to approximately 1890, we were in the business of building communities in the wilderness. Our early settlers, whether in the New England area or in the south, came in groups and built in fairly close proximity to

each other, both for social and economic advantage, and for mutual protection.

In the case of the old community, during the pioneer time, there was no question about its social make up, its anatomy, or its boundary lines. The town center was located by the first comers, and others scattered their dwellings out from the town center. Still further beyond there was still unbroken wilderness to mark in a general way the limits of the community.

Life was to a considerable extent static, due to the lack of means of transportation and communication. The culture type, once having migrated and formed a community, tended to remain fixed. After the first establishment, there was very little diffusion of cultures. If outsiders came into the community, they were compelled to conform to the customs and usages of the first comers. The tendency was for each community to thus develop a culture of its own.

Institutional life was fairly simple. Business houses existed in about the right number to supply the meager wants of the people. Since there was no question as to where the people would trade, there being only the one trade center available, merchants had merely to wait behind their counters for the "trade" to come in. While there might have grown up the practice of driving sharp bargains with customers, yet there was very little of what we would call in modern times "pushing business".

In the New England community the people were of one religious faith and connection, and therefore of

one church. Little doubt was raised as to whether or not this was the right church, since the people were indoctrinated in its teachings, and for the most part took it for granted as the institution which was to serve them all in terms of religion. School district lines were coextensive with the community lines, there being no separate legal unit with lines different from those that marked in a general way the confines of the settlement.

Family life was basic. Economic activities and recreational functions were largely on this basis. The father was the undisputed head of the family; the woman's duty was to raise children, and to take care of them and of her husband. Nobody volunteered the question as to whether she had any other function than that of housewife and mother. The children were to be implicitly obedient, especially to the male head of the house. This type of family was quite uniform, and he would have been thought radical indeed who dared suggest any deviation from it.

Isolation was particularly a mark of the life of the old community. The people in any given place were few in number, and their town was far separated from any other place of abode. Even thirty years ago in the middle west there could be found large numbers of persons in town or in the adjacent countryside who had never been to places twenty-five miles or more distant. All their lives were spent in the one community, and it was a real event if the family changed their place of abode, and moved their permanent residence from one community to another. Even when

the railroad came, the citizens of the town and countryside seldom traveled any distance on the train. The train was for the passage of new settlers out into a newly developed region, and for the accommodation of tourists who had wealth to ride about over the country, and for well-to-do business men who traveled from city to city.

This all made for a life of neighborliness which had its advantages as well as its disadvantages. Sinclair Lewis undertook to present a caricature of this type of community life in "Main Street". He got Sauk Center when it evidently was just at the point of change from the old period to the new. Many of his exaggerations of the effect of the "small town virus" doubtless had a basis in fact, but he quite neglected to do justice to certain desirable qualities that were developed under the old system; and he quite failed in some points in his assumptions of behavior which provincialism would manifest. For example, it could not happen any place except in a work of fiction that any funeral in a small town should fail to get the attention of the people, or that a corpse would be taken to the cemetery in an old wagon and only one mourner following. That violates the almost morbid spirit of sympathy and neighborliness that often permeates the small American town.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, with the development of American industrialism on a new and unheard-of scale, the big city took the center of the stage. The town and country places all over the United States welcomed few if any new comers, and even

began to see many of their citizens leaving "the old home town" to seek their fortunes in the cities. Those who left were merged into the great city life and were tremendously changed by it; but the ones who were left at home continued in their provincial behavior with the added disadvantage of a feeling of loss and failure due to the decimating of population which manifested itself physically in vacated shops and empty dwelling houses.

The city dominated and made rapid progress, while the old home town stagnated and remained quite exactly, "the *old* community". The contrast between the new city ways and the old community became more and more glaring. In the city there were lighted streets, while the streets of the town were in darkness. Electric lights made the home in the city brilliantly attractive, while from the town and country home the kerosene wick cast its dismal ray. The city was equipped with running water under pressure, so that every home, and place of business, and public building was assured of a clean and fresh supply of water constantly on tap. The town dweller still carried his bucket out into the back yard, pumped up the water laboriously from the open well, carried it into the house, used it, put part of it back into a bucket for waste material, carried it into the back yard, and threw it away. The city took all refuse in liquid or semi-liquid form down immediately out of sight into the underground sewer, and carried it away for permanent disposal. In the town and country there was no such sewage disposal

system, and filth was deposited, necessarily, in close proximity to where the people lived. Means of recreation were found in the city at every turn, while in town and country there was a dearth of recreational opportunity.

Business in the urban area was successful in all of its phases—commercial, industrial, financial—while business in the town and country community tended to be unsuccessful. This was the case in the business of retailing in the small town, in agricultural production in the country, and in the marketing carried on at the shipping center. The idea has often been presented that mediocrity or failure is not so serious in its mere presence, as it becomes when the persons affected with it take it into their very souls and lives and admit their defeat. Something of this spirit hit the old community, and made the downward trend more certain.

The development of a group to a higher culture must emanate from innate resources. Suggestions and assistance may come from without, but unless there is native life—unless there are resident forces—there can be no growth. This is as true in the social world as it is in the biological world. Doubtless here is to be found the secret of the decadance of many small towns or rural communities in the United States. A paraphrase has been formed to the effect that "God made the country, man made the city, but the devil made the small town".

Much stress has been placed upon the fact of the loss of population from the small town and country area coincident with the very rapid gain in population in

the city area. It is assumed that the one is a sign of decadence and disaster and the other a sign of progress and success. This assumption may be due to the fact that in census reports we are likely to head one column "Gain", and the other column "Loss". An increase in population is assumed to be a "gain" in every sense of the word, and a decrease in population is assumed to be a "loss".

The speeding up of industrialism in the city reacted for the decrease of the population of the small town. Some of us can well remember how in our childhood days certain craftsmen plied their callings in small towns. There was the wagon maker. He actually accepted orders from farmers to make wagons for them, according to their special requirements. A wagon would be in the process of making for a considerable period of time, and one could go and inspect it at various stages of its progress just as an owner might now from time to time go to inspect a new house which a contractor is building for him. The blacksmith not only shod horses, and sharpened plows, but he actually made horseshoes out of the iron strips and made the cutting edge of the plow itself. These men—the wagon maker and the blacksmith—were both manufacturers. The great Studebaker works started with such a wagon-making shop and a blacksmith shop in a small place. The shoemaker had his shop in a small town. He was not a cobbler or repairer of shoes, but a manufacturer. A man went to the shoemaker's shop and had his feet measured for a pair of boots, and returned from time to time to "try them on". Footwear in that day was

"fitted to the feet"—now we crowd the foot to fit the footwear.

These craftsmen and others ran their little manufacturing plants in every small town forty years ago. Then there arose a great factory for the manufacture of wagons. Wagons were "standardized" and the local retail dealer kept them for sale. They were made in larger quantities and with the greater use of machinery —and therefore at a much lower cost of production. There was no longer any job in the small town for the wagon maker. Exit, from the town population, the wagonmaker and his family. One vacant shop, one vacant house. With the making of horseshoes to a certain uniform size there was less work for the blacksmith—and if rubber tires when carrying loads may be likened to the iron shoes of horses, it may be readily declared that the big tire factories of the city eventually almost drove the blacksmith out of business. The blacksmith and his family left town. Another closed shop and another vacant house. Whether or not people's feet could be standardized, at least shoes could be standardized. Shoe factories developed in a way that had never been dreamed of before, and "store shoes" came on the market in the small town to compete with the hand-made article of previous days. Of course, they never have been as good as those made by the craftsman, who was an artist as well as a mechanic in his line. But they are cheaper, and with changing style, one cannot afford to have a pair of shoes last too long anyway. At the big factory no one made a pair of shoes; he made a heel, or a sole, or a toe cap, or an

upper—or he assembled these parts as other workers sent them to him. Good-bye to the shoemaker and his family as they left the small town. Closed shop, vacant house. But the shoemaker, the blacksmith, the wagonmaker, the miller and all the rest of them purchased goods from the "butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker". As industry in the city drew off from the old community the artist craftsmen and their families, the merchants began to find their customers fewer in number and their income decreasing. That meant now and then a closed retail store with the merchant's family also leaving town.

The town center has always depended to a great degree upon the trade coming in from the country region. Towns in the middle west and far west enlarged as more farmers moved in around them and came to town to trade. Merchants came to speak, if not boast fondly,—then positively and tenaciously,—of "my trade territory". In certain parts of the country, since the feeling was that the greater the increase in population the more successful was the town becoming, land was cut up into farms that were entirely too small. Farm management specialists estimate that under normal farm conditions in eastern Kansas a family must have at least two hundred acres to make a profit in farming, and that in the wheat country in western Kansas a man and his son, with ample capital for the purchase of new farm machinery, intending to raise wheat, would find the most economical unit to be two thousand acres of land. Yet practically all of Kansas was once

taken up in one-hundred-and-sixty-acre homestead tracts. Even if no new factors had entered to change this situation, large numbers of these farmers would have been forced to leave and allow their farms to be merged into larger areas in order that agriculture might be at all successful.

Industrialization in the city just after the World War took on a new life and we began to see as never before the production of power machinery, much of it practically automatic, to be used in carrying on and speeding up all sorts of work. This reacted again on the farm area, since high-powered machinery, such as the tractor and the combine, coming onto the farm, made it possible for fewer workers to cultivate much larger acreage. This meant another exodus of people from the old community. They went either to new lands in Canada or into industrial work in the large cities of the United States.

Using as a dividing line that epochal event, the beginning of the World War, we may say that the decadence of the old community had about reached its depths at that time. It was then that prophets of disaster began to foretell its doom. They said, "In ten years the small town will have been wiped off the map". But more than the ten year period has passed, and the small town is going stronger than ever. Something has evidently happened to "the old community". Has it found some fountain of youth, some elixir of life, some method of rejuvenation?

CHAPTER III

THE OLD CULTURE

From ancient times there has been a recognition of the existence of conflicting cultures in town and country. Literature has ordinarily been dominated by city people, with the result that the distinction in culture between rural population and urban population has been made to appear as decidedly in favor of the urban. Our language is replete with words that formerly connoted the inferiority of the culture of people from the small town and country area. "Villian" referred originally to a serf from the villa—a workingman in the country. Sometimes the antipathy was so great against the highbrow culture of the city that men in the country lay in wait for travelers from city to city and despoiled them. This, at any rate, was considered to be just such a thing as a "villein" would do. "Rus" referred to the land and therefore anything that was "rustic" was considered to be in its natural and unpolished state. It has not been uncommon to speak of the country man himself as being "rustic". The word came to be used as a noun and the man is called "a rustic". The "heathen" was one who lived on the "heath"—therefore an isolated, uncultured person. This is not in *honor* of the fact that he is true to nature, but rather

in disdain of his uncultured status. The "country lout", the "hayseed", the "hick", from a "hick town" —these derogatory terms will be recognized as conceived in and hurled from the city culture. They are expressive of the recognition on the part of the city man of the superiority of his culture over that of the country.

No doubt the city "dude" or "sport" was just as objectionable in the sight of the country man—the only difference being that the latter did not speak in public or have access to newspapers with wide circulation. Probably much more humor could have been developed for comic columns from instances in which people born and bred in the city have failed to adjust themselves to farm settings, than have ever been promulgated concerning the errors of the country man "the day the farmer came to see the town".

Without advocating the cause of either side in the controversy, it must be admitted that the conflict between the two cultures has been a real one.

While there are many causes for this conflict of cultures perhaps the one contributing the most to it has been the fact of the difference in numbers and proximity of association. Association is fundamental in the societal concept. Humans share with certain other animals this tendency to develop best in group formation. Gregariousness is our habit. Communication develops out of association. A distinction commonly found between the man and the animal is at this point. While the animals share with man the tendency and

necessity of congregating, they have not developed either in kind or degree the ability to communicate. No one who has spent any time in the wild, living in the presence of native animals, or who has in his earlier days herded cows or sheep, will deny that animals do have meager forms of communication. At the same time their forms of communication can scarcely be likened to human language used to elucidate and compare ideals, and to aid the group in coming to a conclusion as to a program of action, and carrying out that program.

It may be assumed that to the extent of the lack of the ability to communicate, one will fall short of socialization and therefore be deficient in that type of culture which most of his kind have developed. Ready communication provides quick exchange and daily sharing of experience. This results in new experimentation and behavior on the part of the individual in relation to his fellows; and where the result of that experimentation is agreeable, the newly acquired type of behavior becomes the current type. A blind, deaf mute is not easily cultured according to the manners of the group in which he lives. Doubtless one reason that we are so apt to consider such a person as being also feeble minded, is that of necessity his lack of means of communication keeps him always many paces behind his fellows who have the powers of sight and hearing and speaking.

City people, entirely regardless of their choice of the matter, are thrown constantly together. It is not neces-

sarily to their credit that they develop urbane manners. When one lives in close proximity to another person he must adjust his behavior to that of his companion if there is to be anything but grief in the relationship. If I am to work in the same department in an industrial plant every day with a hundred other men I must learn to comport myself in a way that will make our association together agreeable. If I have failed in this today, I know that tomorrow I must go right back to the same place, and meet the men whom I have offended —and so on, day after day, as far as I can see into the future. I have been a member of labor unions in certain cities in the United States, and have attended meetings with some degree of regularity. In these meetings I have witnessed sharp conflict—but I never yet have seen a man whose will was overruled, arise and condemn the whole group and angrily walk out of the meeting. Yet I have witnessed this where small-town people or farm people came together to discuss matters that had to do with the common welfare of the organization in which they had mutual membership. About fifteen years prior to the time of writing this, a leading farmer in his community said to me:

"If those fellows won't do as I want them to do, I've got a good one-hundred-and-sixty-acre farm over across the creek, and I'll go back over there and stay, and attend to my own business."

Of course it would be utterly impossible for a leader of industry to assume the same attitude, or engage in the same practice in relation to those with whom he

was associated. He could not long weather the storm if in a fit of individualistic anger he should "go back to his own factory and tend to his own business". In order to survive industrially, he *must* make proper adjustments with the group of men with whom he associates. If industrial workers assumed such individualistic attitudes we would never have known the united strength of an organization such as the American Federation of Labor. The isolation of the farmer has made him seem to be low in the culture scale, according to modern urban standards; the town man, judged from the same standards, has been a little farther up the ladder; and the city man has been at the top. It is significant that the stage of culture seems graded according to the ratio of development from extreme isolation to association.

The material things in the environment have been both cause and effect of the type of culture of both of these groups. The city man has had uniformly better housing facilities, and this has had much to do with enhancing his standard of living. One reason that his house has been superior in appearance is that more people have been passing by it, and therefore it would be subject to more constant criticism than the house that was set back on the farm off of a country road along which few people were passing. Even so, the "slum" conditions that until recently prevailed in all of our American cities could hardly be called other than greatly inferior to the housing status of the average farm family. Perhaps a more just comparison,

however, could be made with the housing appearance of the larger town center of the agricultural community. The business man and the professional man in town is under the necessity of maintaining a "good front". The owner and manager of the "Emporium" cannot live in a shack. The doctor and the lawyer must have houses which give the outside appearance of refinement and prosperity. That is, the success of the business or profession depends to a considerable extent on the "front" that the man presents with his place of residence. This has not formerly been in the least a factor in the business of the farmer. Regardless of the appearance of the house that he lived in, he could produce bumper crops, a high grade of beef cattle, and purebred hogs and poultry, and could sell these on the market at the prevailing market price. People dealt with him according to the nature of the goods he had to sell, and entirely without regard to the appearance of his house or premises. This is mentioned here to show that the distinction between the appearance of the house of the town man and that of the country man was not necessarily due to a difference in aesthetic taste, but rather to a difference in absolute necessity for continuing in business.

During the pioneer days which passed away in most of America only recently, the farmer was under the necessity in the main of developing his business as such. The city man, driving in the country, was inclined sometimes to remark:

"See the greedy, selfish farmer—big and well-kept

barn, but little and ill-kept house! Thinks more of his livestock than he does of his family."

This was only further evidence of the utter ignorance of the city man with regard to the process that was going on in the farm social group. Farming is a family enterprise. All members of the family group are engaged in it. The home is an integral part of the business. The barn will build and support the dwelling house. It was long-headedness on the part of the farmer and good sound economic practice to house his family as well as possible, temporarily, in connection with the place of business, and develop the kind of farm, barns and other outbuildings, which would bring him the greatest profit; to get his land all paid for, have capital enough to run the farm, and later accrue sufficient surplus to build a finer and more adequate dwelling house. This is only to say in another way that the economic necessity caused the processes in the two cases to be quite exactly reversed.

The same fact applies in considering the various goods necessary in the equipment for living. The town family had friends and neighbors coming in every day, and must do a certain amount of formal entertaining, even in order to keep good business connections. The farm family had very few people coming into the house, and entertained only occasionally, and never formally. Also, the people who visited in the farm home were from farm homes, and therefore accustomed to similar conditions. It is said that a leading German university professor while visiting in the United States soon

after the World War was asked what impressed him most in German conditions of the time; and he replied,

"I am greatly impressed with the fact of how easy it is to live on five hundred dollars a year when nobody else gets any more than that."

The members of the farm family compared their house and its furniture with the same possessions of other families, and the comparison was not odious. They paid little attention to the house and furnishings of the town business man or professional man, because of the gulf that seemed to be fixed between them.

The same distinction was noticeable in the clothing of town people and country people. The latter were working day by day in isolated places, where they could be seen by few or no people. They worked at a type of employment which called for durable clothing—or at least for clothing that would not be injured by rough usage. A "Sunday suit" would last the farmer for many years, and a "best dress" would do the farmer's wife for a like period. The clothing for farm children was made by mother in the home (even though she might not be a good seamstress) long after city children had begun to wear "store clothes".

That city people introduced certain modern conveniences and comforts into their homes was not at all due in the first place to their higher type of culture, but rather to their close proximity to each other. Even in the fairly small towns serious epidemics of filth diseases broke out where the only method of disposing of human excreta was in the open vaulted privy in the

back yard, and the only means of getting drinking water was from the well sunk in the ground between that place and the kitchen. Sewer systems for the disposal of human waste became absolutely necessary for health, where so many people lived close together. The effective operation of the sewer system made a municipal water system essential; as did also the fact that sewer pipes from which gas escaped underground made drinking-water from wells all the more dangerous. The natural outcome of this situation was the installation of running water under pressure in the house, and of the indoor toilet and bathroom. This in turn developed a different way of living and therefore a different type of culture in these practices.

The farm people, for the most part, continued to use the outdoor privy and to pump up water from the well. Since there was plenty of land space, these two accessories of living did not need to be located near together, and since half a dozen people in the farm home were the only ones concerned with the problem on an entire quarter section of land or more, the old order continued without damage to public health. Social necessity developed the modern conveniences of the town home and the very lack of that same social necessity maintained the inconveniences of the farm home.

Up to fairly recent times, farm work was largely hand work after city work had become largely machine work. The labor processes of the farmer were therefore slow and laborious, while those of the town man were inclined to be less exerting. This would in turn

react in each case upon the habitual behavior of the individual. The country man doubtless was slow-minded because his labor processes were long-drawn-out; whereas the city man had to become quick-minded in order to keep up with the job. The farmer was also dependent upon the elements. These cannot be made to order, and the seasons, as they come and go, cannot be hastened by human zeal. The farmer grew accustomed to waiting. The city man found ways of speeding up through mechanistic processes.

With different environment, both physically and socially, the town group and the country group developed differentiated vocabularies. If the latter had been publishing newspapers and books his use of English words might have come to be the accepted one. The gradual change in the sound and spelling of these words would then have been pointed to as merely the evolution of a language. But it was the town man who was writing the material for all public articles and books. The language, therefore, evolved in relation to the physical and social environment of the urban dweller, and this caused the vocabulary of the country dweller to seem crude and decadent.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW CULTURE

THOSE who are assuming that the marked culture conflict of the past still prevails between town people and country people, are counting upon a fact that in many quarters has ceased to exist. A new culture has appeared in the countryside. In the main, the rural people are becoming urbanized. There may be a diffusion of cultures, in which the new culture is a sort of a mixture of those which were formerly urban and rural. The tendency for city people to go on long pleasure trips into the country, to live in summer cabins, or to have a "country club"—this may have caused them to adapt themselves toward the rural culture. But if city people may be said to have adopted some of the country culture, in many sections of the United States country people may be said to have been absorbed by the urban culture.

Slowly but surely a new type of person is appearing in rural areas in many of our states. If it was true that for a period of time *ambitious* persons migrated from the farm and from small towns, this does not tell the whole story. It is also true that many who were forced out of farming sections *merely from lack of employment,* drifted naturally to the great industrial centers

where work was more plentiful. A person who could not make a living directing or engaging in the great multiplicity of work in the agricultural field, *could* make a good living at a job on wages in a factory working under a foreman. It is doubtful if among those who left the rural community there was any larger percentage of the ambitious and capable than of those who were below the border line of native intelligence and adaptability, and therefore incapable of remaining as parts of the agricultural personnel under the new order.

The agricultural colleges and the vocational agricultural departments of community high schools are now turning into the farming business an increasing number of the trained graduates. Especially in the Middle-West and in the farther West it is noticeable that we have somewhat recently come to the time when an older generation is retiring and a new generation is coming into control of the farming business. Since the farming business is coming to be recognized as one requiring ample capital and scientific knowledge on the part of the owner or operator, it no longer appeals to the poverty-stricken and the ignorant and the inefficient. The latter type cannot begin to grasp the significance of the new agriculture. One who has spent some years on the faculty of an agricultural college in the Middle West is more and more impressed with the fact that some of our most practical and highly trained young men are returning to the parental farm, establishing partnerships with fathers, enlarging the farming

unit of land, and entering a big business in the *spirit* of big business. Of course it may be expected that this will introduce a new competition which will further tend to drive out the under-capitalized and inefficient farmer.

Large scale farming is coming to be the order of the day. Our settlement of land in the United States was planned in the early day on the basis of the opportunities offered in states like Ohio, and Illinois. Much of our land area, however, is of such a nature that the farming process, to be economically sound, must be conducted in much larger units of land than would be needed in those states. It is a noticeable fact in this connection that while in Wyoming a change was made in the land settlement plans, so that a man could secure from the government an entire section (six hundred and forty acres, instead of the original homestead of one hundred and sixty acres) there is at this writing a bill pending in Congress providing that a person owning and operating an irrigated valley farm may be allowed to secure on the dry upland range two sections or twelve hundred and eighty acres. This is in order that there may be a proper balance between the range facilities during the summer season, and the intensive feeding opportunities in the valley below during the winter season.

Consider the case cited in a previous chapter, in which a man is going into wheat farming and will be assisted by his son (the average two man farm). He has an abundance of capital to purchase all the

power machinery that he and his son can make use of during the season in which it is usable, and to insure him both adequate expense money and a sinking fund. From the standpoint of good management he will need, then, a certain number of acres of land to occupy the whole time and attention of the two men with their machinery, and other capital. It is estimated that the unit of land required for such a project would be two thousand acres. The point which it is desired to make here is that this operation calls for a big business man as manager; and wherever such large scale activities are being carried on successfully it signifies that the small type of man has given way to the big type of man. While a little while ago some alarmists were deploring the "exodus to the city", now we may well begin to boast of "fewer and better farm people".

Corporation farming has begun to assume noticeable proportions. Those who decry this tendency from the standpoint of social welfare are accustomed to assuming that this means the introduction of factory methods into farming and therefore bringing in a horde of cheap labor. However, it may well appear that if two men can successfully conduct the operations of a wheat farm of two thousand acres, not more than ten men would be needed to do the work of a corporation farm of ten thousand acres. Since it would be necessary for these men to operate big power machinery, and to work according to proper rules of farm management, it might be safe to conclude that they would have to be men of greater native intelligence and much higher

training and ambition than those ordinarily found working in factories.

If these tendencies as noted above continue, there will presently be no place left in the United States for the "poor farmer"; certainly not for "the man with the hoe", immortalized in painting by Millet and in poetry by Markham.

One difficulty with the literature and even so-called scientific findings presented in the past few years concerning the mental and social status of the farmer, is that those who presented it assumed that a trend noticed at the time would continue and even be accentuated; whereas apparently what really was happening was that those who were subnormal and inefficient were being made noticeable by the very impossibility of their position. The picture is rapidly changing, and some of those who are talking about rural decadence will no doubt still be sobbing aloud in public places long after conditions are so changed that while they think they are weeping over the ills of the living, they will actually be like the senile old woman who puts in her time crying over her photograph album containing the pictures of the dead.

The mingling of town and country people has tended toward the development of a new culture in the country community. This mingling is largely the result of the introduction into general use of the automobile and improved highways. City people are touring out over the country, talking with farm people, stopping at small-town hotels, camping in tourist parks in out-of-

the-way places. Farm people are also "on the road". In some sections it has come to be as customary for the farm family to "take a vacation" as it ever was for the city family. One who has visited frequently during the past few years in farm homes and conversed with members of the farm family has become accustomed to hear them discuss their experiences in Chicago, New York, San Francisco, Miami, Detroit—at the Grand Canyon, in Yellowstone Park, in the Yosemite Valley, in the Canadian Northwest—and wherever else there are highways which can be traveled by automobiles. They put up at the same hotels or camp at the same tourist parks used by the city people. Since the city type has dominated in the past, and has been looked up to by country people as being more highly cultured, the tendency is for country people as they come into contact with them, to become urbanized.

A secretary of agriculture, in one of our leading farm states, recently remarked to the writer: "It is nothing unusual now to see here in our state capital-city three or four farmers hobnobbing with three or four big Santa Fe railway officials. On investigation, one finds that quite often they are not associating to transact business together, but just are good pals on an equal footing. You never would have seen anything of that kind happening prior to ten years ago."

While it is probable that in the diffusion of culture the Santa Fe officials may have taken on some of the "rough and ready" attitude and behavior, yet doubtless it is true that there was a greater tendency for the

farmers to dress like and act like the Santa Fe officials. In behavior then, the farm group is tending to take on the culture of the superior element in our urban life.

The automobile and the improved highway have very greatly shortened, if not almost obliterated the distance between farm families. That is to say, social distance was formerly conditioned by geographical distance, whereas now, where good roads have been developed, and nearly all farm families own automobiles, the highway forms a connecting link over area that formerly was a geographical barrier. Whereas a few years ago farm families that lived ten miles apart very seldom met, now it is only a fifteen- or twenty-minute pleasure ride to "run over and see each other". Association and communication have become thus revolutionized in the farm community within the past very few years. Anyone who cannot see that this quite entirely changes the whole picture, must be socially blind. Just as it made the city man "smooth" to rub up constantly against so many people, so now the country man is becoming "smooth" by the same process.

We are passing into a new era in the physical equipment of the farm and the farm home. In some favored sections we have entirely passed out of the old period, into the new in this regard. The successful, worthwhile farmer who pioneered, who built the "big barn and little house", who struggled along with inconveniences while he developed his estate, has now rebuilt both the house and the barn. The less intelligent and inefficient, who therefore did not accumulate an estate,

and could not enter the new era, have been crowded out. The community is physically remade.

The writer, during the past three years, has visited a considerable number of farm homes, of which the one now to be described is typical. The house is either entirely new or else rebuilt and modernized. It is in a yard that has been properly arranged according to the best rules of landscape gardening. The lawn, the shrubbery, the flowers, the walks—are where these ought to be, both in relation to the surroundings and to each other. The milk house, the dairy barn, and other buildings are properly located for the best advantage in conducting the various operations relating to them. The house is thoroughly heated by a furnace either with coal or with oil automatically fed. A constant supply of water is available on each floor of the house—hot water and cold water under pressure. Bathroom and toilet privileges are equal to any found in any city home, and much more adequate than will be found in the average city apartment. The home and the farm buildings are completely electrified, the "juice" coming from a high-powered transmission line. This means the introduction of the vacuum cleaner to take the place of the old broom and dustpan, the use of the electric refrigerator, which is in the kitchen or dining room and rendering service both summer and winter, an electric range to take the place of the old wood cooking stove, a power laundry, electric lights—and all the other conveniences that available electricity can supply. At the time of the writer's visit to this home, about 8:30 A. M.,

on a hot summer day, the farm woman was watering her flowers—a great stream of water coming from the hose, driven by an electric pump. At the milk house, two boys who were in legal partnership with their father on the farm were washing milk bottles with an electric bottle-washing machine. The farmer was in a room adjacent to the dairy barn watching an electrical machine which was chopping feed for the dairy cows. The dairy barn was lighted properly with electricity. Good-bye to the old lantern while out milking the cow. The milking itself was done with an electrically operated milking machine. Nearby a field of sugar beets was being watered by a great stream of water which was being pumped up by the power of a portable electric motor, on a motor truck.

Where could you find a general physical set-up that would be more conducive to the very highest type of culture? A comparable cultural situation in the city could be maintained only by those of the very greatest wealth.

It is not maintained that this is a type of farm and farm home ordinarily found throughout the United States; but it is maintained that such are appearing in increasing numbers and that they connote a new culture on the part of farm people. It is further maintained that the average rural uplifter, in leaving these entirely out of the picture, has shown either inexcusable ignorance or culpable dishonesty. The politician might be excused (since we must excuse so many things in him) for pleading the cause of the "poor downtrodden farmer"; but the rural sociologist who is opposed to

present things as he finds them, has no necessity of making an emotional appeal to hold his job, and should know that the old rural culture is passing away, and a new culture is taking its place.

City uplifters, in common with those who look with disdain upon country folks, have been accustomed to assume that the difference in the kind of clothing worn was in some way a permanent difference. To correct this idea, one has only to attend a banquet at any Land Grant College during farm and home week. Ask the "highbrows" (if there are such) at the State College, at Ames, Iowa, whether or not at this annual banquet where there are as many as fifteen hundred farm people present, you can tell by looking at the folks, which ones are from the city of Ames, and which from the farms scattered all over the state. After having been present on such occasions at a number of Land Grant Colleges throughout the United States, I feel like apologizing to the farm people for making mention of the fact at all; and would not do so if it were not that among city people the notion persists that because their own fathers and mothers on the farm of the old time wore homespun, this is still a mark of inferior farm culture. Sensible folks in the city and in the country are dressing alike nowadays, which connotes the same kind of culture in so far as clothing bespeaks culture.

Many matters regarding the status of women and children in the farm home cannot possibly be understood except when viewed from the standpoint of the farm business itself.

Farming is a business. Slowly both the business

world and the farm people themselves have waked up to this fact. It is the biggest business in the aggregate in the whole United States—or for that matter in the whole world.

The farm office is in the home. The co-workers or partners are members of the family.

In the corner of the big dining room of the farm home just pictured is a modern type of office desk, and standing by it an up-to-date filing cabinet. On the table near at hand, neatly arranged, are several farm journals.

In that office corner are three telephones enabling this farmer business man to do business with farmers and dealers fifty miles or more in every direction. He keeps a complete set of books and posts them regularly. His property is all invoiced, and he can tell you any day approximately where his business stands.

Notice that this business is actually transacted in a corner of the dining room. The other furniture in this office is dining room furniture. The wife and daughters are busy passing in and out in the preparation of meals. The farmer himself is out of the office a good deal of the time; but he does not hire an office girl to chew gum and make eyes at him and other workers. When the phone rings, the wife or one of the children answers, and they know how to transact much of the buying and selling business of the farm. When they cannot attend fully to calls, they list the parties' names and have the manager call them up when he comes into the office. This office is always "open". There is no

eight-hour day; no "gone home to dinner" sign for the door. Even a night call is given attention by the manager himself.

This gives the entire family a training in partnership business. It makes this partnership the chief topic of conversation in the family circle. Anyone who has visited or lived in farm homes must admit that much more than fifty percent of the conversation is on business—the business of production, of buying and selling, of financing and shipping. The radio in the dining room now brings in the world market news every day, at the dinner hour, with the entire family listening in. Where could one find a better education in business, or a better means of solidifying group life?

To many well-intentioned reformers the farm people have become special clients, for whom they desire to make as strong a case as possible with regard to inferior conditions of living. Much has been written, for example, about the inadequacy of the farm home itself. The city investigator approaches it with the idea that it should be very much like the city house with which he is most familiar.

A very prominent farm woman of Iowa recently said: "I wonder what college surveyors of farm living conditions would have reported about our way of living, if they had happened to drive into our yard during a brisk shower last summer. The cows were out in the pasture, and father had told our two boys to ride the horses out after them. When the boys came in, after the shower was over, I noticed their clothing was not

wet. They explained that since there was no danger of anyone being out in a torrent like that, they had seen no reason for getting their clothes soaked. So they left them in the barn, and rode out after the cows not only "bare-back—but bare everything else."

Doubtless the investigator would have returned greatly shocked, and would have reported boys on Iowa farms wearing no clothes whatever. Yet this is one of the wealthiest farms of Iowa, and the woman who reported it is the wife of one of the great leaders of farm organization in the nation.

The now well-known opposition of the farmer to the child labor amendment can be explained only in connection with the relationship of the family and the business. Every member of the family feels a partnership right in the farm and everything on it. Therefore, on a well organized farm everybody works. The amount of farm and home work done by the average farm boy and girl is well balanced with other activities. As long as farming is a family business, the farm boy and the farm girl will do a reasonable amount of the farm and home work, thus sharing the partnership. It is much preferable to the loafing leisure and the trouble-finding time of the city boy and the city girl.

The divorce problem in the American farm home is almost non-existent. The farm woman and the children are partners in a business. In no such way are the wife and children of the groceryman, or the lawyer, or the doctor, partners in the business. There is a common ground of interest between man and wife, and between

them and the children, such as is not known among city dwellers. It furnishes also a business bond of attachment that adds strength to the bond of affection and the bond of the law.

Mention has been made of the fact that power machinery has come into the farming process. In a former chapter a comparison was drawn between the interesting and rapid work of the men in city industry and the slow and laborious toil of the old-time farmer. Under the old régime farming was always considered a drudgery. In "Utopia", by Sir Thomas More, the attempt was made to adjust the farming situation, in order that there might be general happiness under ideal conditions. According to More's arrangement, every so often the city people were moved out onto the farm to do the farm work, and the farm people were allowed to move into the city. More remarks, "in order that no persons may be consigned to that intolerable drudgery for their whole life time." Even under imaginary ideal conditions he could not conceive of any way of doing away with the drudgery, and could only propose to relieve people of it occasionally by condemning other people to do it. Some thirteen years ago an educated man who had gone from the city onto a farm that was left him by his father made the remark after a hard day's toil:

"There's no use trying; a man just can't be a gentleman and a farmer at the same time."

Unknowingly he was trying to say that two types of culture belong to two different types of work. Being

a city raised man, he considered that the type of culture going along with the city type of work was the higher type of the two, and marked the man who possessed it as a "gentleman".

A textbook in Ethics formerly in wide use in our classical colleges began with this sentence, "Knowledge is a product of leisure." It probably could be truthfully paraphrased "Culture is a product of leisure." Where the farming business is well organized, farm people now have leisure. The practice of arising at four o'clock in the morning and working until eight o'clock or later at night, seven days in the week, has gone entirely out of vogue. This is due to a combination of better management, better equipment, and power machinery. A company interested in selling power machinery to farmers has recently announced that they have a list of five hundred farms in the United States which they call "horseless farms". They mean by this that in each case there is no horse on the farm, and all farm work and transportation have been mechanized. The introduction of farm machinery *with* horsepower greatly multiplied the productivity per man. What shall we say of the introduction of power machinery *without* horses as further multiplying the productivity of the individual farmer. In no other field of activity has the introduction of power machinery so greatly operated in a labor-saving capacity and added leisure to the life of the worker. Do we not all remember the old days when the farm home and the farm premises were buzzing with workers, and when, for example in

harvest time, a host of men were getting in the crops by sheer brute strength; and the girls and women in the house were becoming prematurely old while they scrubbed and washed and cooked to take care of the harvesters? Not much personal refinement was possible under those conditions. In the big wheat country the combined harvester-thresher has done away with all of that drudgery at harvest time. It really doesn't make any difference now whether the girls and women are at home or not. They can take the summer vacation tour to the seashore at the time if they wish and so be out of the way while the harvesting is being done. In fact, a great wheat farm may be some miles from the farm home, and have no connection with it whatever.

Here again one must of course be well aware of the fact that there still remain certain sections of the country where the small tenant farmer is plugging away on a one-mule farm, and where the members of the family are doing a sort of idiotic kind of labor from early morning until late at night, but one can compare these properly with conditions prevailing in the so-called slum districts of American cities. It is not really strange that there should be "slums" in the rural area just as there are "slums" in the city area. Rural people do not estimate city people in their culture by what they see or know to exist in the city slums—therefore, city people have no justification in branding as rural culture that which they see or know to exist among the lower order of rural people.

CHAPTER V

THE IDEAL COMMUNITY

PERHAPS the fundamental error of the professional reformer is in assuming that there is such a thing as a standard "ideal" community. There are as many concepts of the ideal community as there are persons who enjoy dreaming in terms of community life.

If considered at all in an absolute sense, the term is quite meaningless. One may not correctly speak of "the ideal community". Dreamers of this sort, whether in the guise of those seeking for themselves some holy grail of blissful happiness, or social workers who carry the halo of divine election to save a world that really doesn't seem to care to be saved by the various nostrums suggested—those dreamers have worked a great deal of damage to themselves (if they tried their own medicine) and to others who became their victims. Brooke Farm, Oneida Community, Harmony Community—one might go on indefinitely bringing forward pictures of fool's monuments to the community ideal.

As enlightening and helpful an exercise would be to consider the ideal saurian or the ideal jelly-fish, in a discussion of biological evolution. Just what kind of a saurian or what kind of a jelly-fish at any given time or place might be an ideal as a process toward man and

whatever he is to evolve into further, would be a perfectly useless consideration.

All society is in the process of social evolution. There is nothing fixed, nothing nailed down. Social life is a *process,* from lower to higher, and not a fixed entity now or at any time past or to come. There might be agreed upon certain ideal or desirable factors in the process at any given time or place, but immediately the time is changed and often the place, and the factors are related to each other in a different way; some of them disappear, and others enter to take their places.

This process may be studied especially in *rural* society because of its less complex nature.

We have witnessed during the past few years the emphasis upon the rural demonstration idea. In the work of agricultural agents on Smith-Lever funds, certain theories of agriculture have been demonstrated. Chemical substances in the soils and their relation to time elements and to air and moisture content, are facts to be counted on. At least it may be assumed that given certain known conditions bearing upon agricultural production, by certain processes of farming certain results will follow. Even in this field any county agricultural agent will admit that the "ifs" are so many and so enormous, that the launching of a demonstration project toward an ideal of production which has been promised, is a most dangerous procedure. A three-year variety test may work out admirably for two years, with the attention and money and

energy of the agent and his farm bureau members fixed upon it. The third year may bring unexpectedly a drought or a flood, so that the demonstration is never completed. A Hessian fly eradication campaign in a 100 percent wheat county, in a five-year demonstration program, may be proceeding well toward attaining the ideal for three consecutive years, and for the two following years all the winter wheat be killed so there is no ideal consummation of which to make a report. That is to say, even in this well understood field, where nearly all the factors are material things that can be moved about at will and controlled—where the soil and the seed and the insect pests and the machinery have no powers of thought or volition to cause them to upset the program of work through which the ideal is to be reached—even here there is grave danger in assuming that an ideal can be safely fixed and attained.

How much more so then in the field of human social action! Here you have not only all the physical factors that have any bearing upon community life, but plus that you have the annoying fact—annoying from the standpoint of the one who persists in saving the world or the community to his particular ideal; that here are humans to deal with, who have a way of springing new ideas, adopting new loyalties, making new discoveries, and even moving away from the field of action suddenly and entirely.

The community of Ebenezer in Pennsylvania, back in 1774, looked over in Alsace where Oberlin was working out a program adapted to the benighted moun-

tain peasants of the Vosges, and assumed the same program would work out well in Ebenezer. They therefore called John Frederic Oberlin to become their pastor. After many misgivings the pastor accepted the call, wrote his farewell letter to his flock in the Vosges, and prepared to sail. The Ebenezer ideal was in sight of achievement. Just one little incident that had not been counted upon slightly changed the program. The Revolutionary War broke out, and in the confusion that followed the Ebenezer community disappeared entirely. Oberlin lived and died in the Vosges community. It is interesting to dream what might have happened in religion and education and community life in America if Oberlin had been allowed to work out his community ideal for Ebenezer. But there is no more foolish way of considering historic fact than to imagine what might have happened if things had not happened as they did happen. The way they did happen constitutes the field of fact, and every factor in relationship since the time, has developed because they did happen that way and absolutely without regard to what might have been if events had transpired differently. One might as well consider what would happen if the moon were made of green cheese. It isn't!

It is not our business to build communities after a preconceived ideal. It is our business to come in upon the life of a community as it actually is now, help to release resident forces for expression, study the process by which they continue to operate and proceed from lower to higher. Anything other than this par-

takes of despotism, however benevolent the intention may be.

The status of the community at any given time is the result up to that time, of certain living moving factors peculiar to that community. The social worker is likely to have fixed his ideal as the result of experiences and observation of other social phenomena in entirely different communities. The fact that one community is not like another or a group of others does not tell anything about that community being ideal or not being ideal. For it, it may be better off for not being like the others. Because a cooperative cheese factory makes an ideal basis for economic and social success in certain communities in Wisconsin, a Wisconsin worker comes down to certain live stock or wheat sections of Kansas, and assumes that the cooperative cheese factory would make the economic basis for community success there also. This entirely without consideration of the fact that the atmospheric and climatic conditions are different, and that beef cattle farmers do not ordinarily make good milkers of cows. "What?" he exclaims, "no cooperative cheese factories? How benighted and behind the times. Let me teach you how to build up the ideal kind of a community with regard to the financial basis." He can also take us to his state and show us instances to demonstrate that his ideal can be attained. But that is not our community. We will take our community as it is, and do what can best be done with wheat in the wheat country and with beef cattle in the grazing country.

In social organization the illustration holds good. Sister Kennicott may import from outside all sorts of ideal programs which should take the place of Main Street activities. But they are not of Main Street, and have no place there. Neither is Main Street to be blamed; it has as much right to be itself in its own way as has Broadway or Lake Shore Drive.

One who desires to see efficient community life will wish above all else to have resident forces released for free and progressive action. This awakening to action may come from the outside. As to what the action shall be, will be determined entirely by those same resident forces. The awakening may be through the business life of the community, and will probably be brought about naturally by the desire of business men in the town to profit more by the increased demands which such an awakening will bring for the goods which they have to sell. Chambers of Commerce are getting more and more alive to such new opportunities. Since business has become more of a recognized unit, business organizations from the United States Chamber of Commerce down through the states to the counties and into the communities may be depended upon to bring this type of awakening through what may be termed the legitimately selfish interest of business success.

Politicians also play their part in bringing about such an awakening and release of resident forces. Of course their claim is a desire to save the "dere peepul", but that is only a part of the political program for personal

and party success. It is good for this community awakening to have in a state fairly equally divided forces as between parties, so that the campaigns may be hotly contested. No one needs to work this up. The outside forces for their own interests will search out local leaders and put them into action.

Religionists play their part in awakening the community and releasing local forces. The denominational leader wishes to make a better record for his church order this year, and word goes out all along the line to whip up the sleepy ones. We must have this year so much more money, so many more converts, and certain other concrete evidences of advance. This all has its effect to awaken the sleeping and almost dead in the rural community. Sometimes of course the denominational leaders wish they had not awakened the sleeping lion—for the awakening sometimes results in a rebellion against the denomination and the starting of a community church.

The school forces are inseparably connected with state headquarters, and the state leaders are always heckling the legislature for increased requirements for teachers and equipment, etc. This makes for awakening the local community to its need.

The point is that we need have no worry about the awakening of resident forces, and their release for action.

To study this action when it is once started, may give us data for better understanding rural community activity. When a good wheat crop is reported in west-

ern Kansas after a few "short" years, one traveling westward on the train will find himself associated with all sorts of self-seeking travelers who are rushing out into the wheat country to profit from the new financial life which has been revived by the moving of a wheat crop. When a rural community is awakened by business or politics or education or religion, we find in the same way the tendency for social buzzards of various kinds to swarm in to see what they can get out of it for their organizations. They have their various programs to impose upon the community. The rural community does not need them. It is made up of the same good American citizenship from which the self-elected saviors have come, and in many cases of purer American citizenship. If let alone at this point, local leadership will evolve plans and programs and projects native to the soil, that will be better than any that could be imported. When they seek sources of information, there will be agencies ready with the information as to such sources. Our states are supporting liberally universities and colleges with amply maintained extension departments to serve exactly this purpose for all of our communities, and the rural people are already paying taxes for the support of these state agencies. There was never a time in history when the people through taxation were supporting so many scientific specialists and research men and women as they are supporting at the present time. For the most part the people are doing this liberally and willingly. None of this service is or ought to be forced upon the rural community. It

is there for the asking, and already paid for by the people themselves. No one is justified in carrying it in to the people until they want it and ask for it.

To enforce upon a community from the outside the ideal of any individual or organization is decidedly harmful. It is establishing a benevolent tyranny. Social workers are often the worst sort of benevolent tyrants. Rural people especially have been tyrannized in this regard by their well-meaning institutional friends. They are continually being offered "the benevolent end of a despotism."

Perhaps a good rural community ideal at the present time would be to keep natural social forces in politics, business, education, religion, alive and active and operating within and without the community; arouse and awaken resident forces within the community, and then *give the community absent treatment.* The proper ideal just now may be "self determination for the New American Community."

CHAPTER VI

THE COMMUNITY POPULATION PROBLEM

The problem of quantity of population has attracted the attention of students of the social order in all times. Since the day of Malthus the discussion as to the relationship between an adequate social order and number of population has fluctuated, partially according to the seriousness of the problem in a given time or place. Recently it has come again strongly to the attention of leaders in biological and social science.

The consideration of this problem has customarily been from the standpoint of the national status, or of the world situation. The traditional viewpoint has been that an increase in numbers in a nation or in any legal or social geographical unit, was a mark of successful economic and social achievement.

Where conditions prevailed which made it desirable for a nation to produce large numbers of fighting men in order successfully to attack enemy nations, or to repulse attacks from them, accretions to the population by birth, and by immigration or capture were desirable. In developing new land areas during a pioneer time it becomes desirable, both from an economic and social standpoint, to have increases in population through migration.

The problem of the average American community cannot be at all understood except it be considered in relation to the pioneer background of early migrations. Since the work of Turner, no person who has attempted to evaluate American life has dared ignore the importance of the pioneer attitudes and practices. There was desirable "free land" available in the United States as late as 1890, and marginal and undesirable land has been available since that time. As long as such land was in sight there was some justification for the popular conclusion that the adding of numbers to the population of a state, a county, or a community in the United Sates was a certain mark of progress. This came to be a psychological concept of the people, and prevailed far beyond the time when there was any justification for it in economic or social fact.

In America we have not been alone in holding to this conception. Temple in his "Essay upon the Advancement of Trade in Ireland" long ago, wrote:

"The true and natural ground of trade and business is the number of people in proportion of the compass of the ground they occupy. This makes all things necessary to life dear, and forces men to industry and parsimony. These customs which grow first from necessity become with time habitual in the country. And wherever they are so, that place must grow great in traffic and riches, if not disturbed by some accident or revolution by which the people come either to be scattered or destroyed. When things are once in motion trade begets trade as fire begets

fire; and people go much where people have already gone."

Those interested in trade in a given area—and especially in selling goods to consumers, are especially likely to see progress for the institution of business in a rapid and large increase of consumers due to new families coming into the trade area from the outside. In 1677, Sir Josiah Child wrote his essay entitled "England's Great Happiness". In that treatise he said:

"You cry up the Dutch to be a brave people, rich and full of cities, that they swarm with people as beehives with bees; if a plague come, they are filled up presently, and such like; yet they do all this by inviting all the world to come and live among them. You complain of Spain because their inquisition is so high, they'll let nobody come and live among them, and that's the main cause of their weakness and proverty. Will not a multitude of people strengthen us as well as the want of it weaken them. Sure it will."

Daniel DeFoe in 1730 wrote: "Whence is all this poverty of a country? 'Tis evident that it was want of trade and nothing else. Trade encourages manufacture, prompts invention, increases labor and pays wages. As the number of people increases, the consumption of provisions increases. As the consumption of provisions increases, more lands are cultivated. In a word, as the land is employed the people increase, of course, and the prosperity of the nation rises and falls just as trade is supported or decays. 'Tis by their multitude, I say, that all wheels of trade are set on foot,

the manufacture and produce of the land and the sea are finished, cured and fitten for the markets abroad; 'tis by the largeness of their getting that they are supported."

East says (Mankind at the Crossroads, pp. 51-53) that "up to the beginning of the nineteenth century leaders of all sorts, with a certain amount of pragmatic justification, had promulgated the idea of the glory of a rapidly increasing population. The great religious leaders with the exception of Christ and Buddha,—namely, Moses, Confucius, Zoroaster, and Mohammed,—were very positive in their doctrines. . . . The Catholic Church very early took a strong expansionist stand. Rulers, politicians, men of state were at one with them. The reason is not hard to find. Vauban's aphorism, 'By the number of their subjects is measured the grandeur of kings', expresses their point of view. . . . Naturally it would be something like this: where there are more people, there is more force, more power . . . even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when reliable vital statistics were not available in quantity in even the most enlightened countries, it was not difficult to show the tendency of population toward geometric increase. As early as 1748, Hyles found that the population of Rhode Island had doubled in twenty-five years. Other parts of the American colonies had doubled in from fifteen to twenty years, and it could be demonstrated that immigration had not been a serious disturbing factor in this growth. Petty, writing somewhat later, had pretty good evidence that pop-

ulation could double itself in ten years under favorable circumstances. And Euler, the eminent mathematician, actually constructed a population table based on registered births and deaths, by which he proved the power of population to double itself in less than thirteen years. Similarly it was comparatively easy to show the impossibility of a like increase in food supply on a fixed area of land.

". . . Malthus was able by his studies of emigration to demonstrate an interesting fact which has been fully confirmed by later work. He proved that emigration of the ordinary type—not including migrations of whole peoples—is very ephemeral relief to the home countries of the emigrants. There is an immediate birth release. Natural increase arises, and the vacant places of Nature's table are filled."

We have recently been passing through a time in which the rural community has been decreasing in population. This has been largely due to migration from the farm—and the farms are considered properly as forming a part of the population of the average American community.

Since it has been popularly assumed that an increase in rural population in a given area is a sign of economic and social progress, and that a decrease in rural population in such an area is a sign of economic and social decadence, we shall consider some of the claims made in support of these assumptions.

From the standpoint of the town "booster", greater numbers in the "trade territory" make greater demands

for goods to be sold at retail, and for personal and professional services offered by business and professional men in the towns. It is assumed also popularly that the presence of a greater number of persons on the farms in a given area will result in greater production, the product to be shipped out from the town center by business agencies who profit from such activity, and the money from the sale price to be brought into the community and expended locally to the greater prosperity of all concerned. The formula in the popular mind goes something like this: more farm families, more retail business, more farm production, more imported money, and so on. In the case of a decrease in farm population, the formula is reversed: fewer farm families, less retail business, less farm production, less imported money, and so on.

The question needs to be challenged again from the scientific viewpoint. In these respects, is an increasing farm population under all conditions an economic advantage to a given area, and is a decreasing farm population an economic loss to a given area?

The specialist in social scence has sometimes led in assuming that a farm population decrease is a sign of social decadance. Whenever the findings of social idealists coincide with the apparent immediate interests of those who make financial profit, those findings are likely to be readily accepted and to become very persistent. Some of the statements frequently made by the one who "views with alarm" in consideration of the population problem, may be epitomized:

The urban population is very rapidly increasing, while in some areas the rural population is decreasing; this means that the people are moving from the country to the cities; not only, then, will we sometime face the situation of not having enough people on the farms to feed the teeming millions of the cities, but since farm life is wholesome and city life is unwholesome, we will be destroying the wholesome nature of our national social life. The people are leaving the country because there are not adequate opportunities for progress—economic, educational, recreational, etc. The question is asked, "What sort of people desire opportunities for this sort of progress?" The answer is, "The more intelligent—the more capable are leaving the farms, and the feeble-minded, the drones,—those of less ability are being left behind." These, it is assumed, are to become the breeding stock of the next generation; and since like begets like, we are to have a rural population of low-minded, incapable peasantry. Those who aver this, say that already the condition of rural business, the rural home, the rural school, the country town, the rural church—and all other rural institutions and environments are showing the effects of this "debacle". That is, an inferior situation brings about an inferior residue of people, and an inferior people produce a situation of still greater inferiority.

Perhaps other questions need to be challenged from the scientific viewpoint. Is a decreasing farm population *due* to the decadence of rural life? Does the fact of a decreasing farm population result in turn in a

still greater decadence of the social institutions of the community?

In an issue of *The Literary Digest,* (Vol. 93, May 7, 1927, p. 12) the general attitude of city people and professional farm leaders is well epitomized:

"The farmers are trekking to town. There is nothing new about this, except that the trek of 1926 was the biggest in any year since the depression of 1920. As a result, Secretary of Agriculture Jardine predicts that the price of food to the consumer will go up, unless the trend reverses itself. While there is nothing alarming in last year's figures, taken by themselves, the real menace to the country, says Mr. Jardine, lies in the inability of the Government to halt the exodus before farms have been so thoroughly depopulated that the United States will not be able to produce enough foodstuffs to meet its demands. The farmer, says the New York *World,* moves to the city because he can make a better living there than on the farm. It is estimated by the Department of Agriculture that 2,150,000 persons moved from farms to cities, towns and villages last year (1926), and that 1,130,000 moved to farms. This makes a net movement of more than a million persons away from the farm. 'We can't keep that up very long, with the total population increasing all the time, without a food shortage,' maintains the Manchester *Union.* But the movement of human beings between farms and cities is not a one-way affair; in 1926 the births over deaths on the farms added 371,000 persons to the agricultural population, so the net

loss was reduced to 649,000. In the view of the Washington *Post,* however, 'These are not reassuring figures, for the country must have food, and the food must be produced on the farms.' Thus remarks the *Christian Science Monitor,* 'The problem of the drift to the cities is one which concerns every man, woman, and child in the United States.' In the opinion of the New York *Telegram* and other Scripps-Howard newspapers:

'It is a great drift and a great tragedy that is thus recorded. Behind the drift is the beckoning finger of the city, with its life, movement, and excitement. Behind it is the ambition and restlessness of youth, leaving the farm to make its own way, and the disillusion of the retired farmer, turning his home over to renters, who now operate four out of ten of our farms.

'Behind it—more important than all—is the relentless economic trend which has made it impossible for millions, even of those who have stuck to the farm, to win a decent living.

'It is the trend, in short, which led Professor Dodd, of the University of Chicago, to predict a year ago the development of an American peasantry unless something is done to check it.'

'The farm population problem will not be solved,' predicts the Providence *Journal,* 'until we find some remedy for the present distressing economic conditions in agriculture in various sections of the country.' Continues this paper, published in a large industrial city:

'Some form of substantial farm relief must be obtained shortly that will bring the farm price index into

closer approximation to the general price index for all commodities. The nation is absolutely dependent upon this great basic industry of farming. It must be restored to a healthy economic condition. And, generally speaking, the only way to do it is to find some relief plan that embodies such economically defensible principles as President Coolidge, for instance, suggested in his veto message on the McNary-Haugen bill.'

'That people in general are not blind to the situation is clear', observes the Philadelphia *Record,* 'since a number of organizations have been started which would stem, or at least counteract, the exodus of the farm population to the cities.' One of these, we are told, is the National Farm School, near Philadelphia, which takes poor boys having only a grammar-school education, and gives them, without charge, a three-year course in scientific agriculture and marketing.

According to O. M. Kile's syndicated editorial service, "How Things Look to the Farmer", 'the apparent inflow to the farms of 1,135,000 persons last year is largely an illusion'. If this farm authority's information is correct, there was even more of an exodus from the farm to the city than the Department of Agriculture has reported. To quote Mr. Kile further:

'The great bulk of those who are said to have abandoned the cities for the farms is made up of city workers who have merely moved out into the country a distance and still carry on their work in the cities. Frequently these persons buy a few acres along the road

and build a new house. Sometimes they buy a farm, occupy the farmhouse, and rent the land to a neighboring farmer. In neither instance could the movement of this city family into the country be considered as in any way restoring "farm" population.'

"There is another group, however, that does not share the fear of a future food shortage and an era of high prices because of the trek to town of a portion of the farm population. Under the circumstances, they affirm, this is the best thing that could happen for the farmers remaining on the soil. The transfer not only reduces competition in producing farm crops, but increases the number of purchasers of farm products. This is the attitude of the Syracuse *Post-Standard*, and to the Council Bluffs *Nonpareil,* 'it is entirely probable that our immediate farm problem may be worked out eventually by this very decrease in farm population.' Says this Iowa paper:

'If the number of persons on the farms continues to decrease, and the total population of the country continues to increase, there will soon be so many demanding products of the farm and so few furnishing them that the prices for farm products will rise. Good prices on the farm will bring the householders back there.'

"The fact is, points out the Pittsburg *Gazette Times,* 'while the farm population has been decreasing for years, the surplus products of the soil have been piling up'. 'It is obvious to this paper that we can spare a good many more farmers.' A continuation of the

present trend toward the cities, thinks the New York *Herald-Tribune,* 'indicates that food production is following the normal course of other American industries by increasing its efficiency and releasing labor for other activities'. 'The greater use of machinery is steadily increasing the production per acre or per man', adds the Boston *Post,* and we read in the *Wall Street Journal:*

'This is the age of machinery and it is increasing the productive power of agriculture. Look, for instance, at the combine that cuts and threshes the grain at the same time. Three or four men working one of those machines can cut fifty acres of wheat in a day and deliver the grain to the elevator a couple of miles away. The result is an enormous decrease in the amount of labor to the acre.' "

We are faced with two outstanding facts. First, a rapid increase in the whole population, not only of America, but of the whole world. Second, a redistribution of the population as between urban and rural, signifying in many cases an actual decrease in the rural population. This means for the urban population a rate of increase out of all proportion to the rate for the whose population.

"Students of population distinguish four factors in relation to its never-ending movement and adjustment. Size of population, resources, the stage of arts (that is, the system of industrial technique and knowledge), and the standard of living. . . . In general, however, migration is primarily economic in character, and is a

movement of population relative to the known resources which supply the means of living. . . . Western society is rapidly becoming a society of cities with a background of agriculture." (Beach, "Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems," pp. 235, 252, 253.)

The same author continues with quotations of the increase in the great cities of the world. In 1800 Paris had one-half million, and in 1900 three million. In 1800 London had 800,000 and in 1910 Greater London boasted seven millions. In a century Berlin grew from a city of 200,000 to one of two millions. Epitomizing the report of the Fourteenth Census of the United States, the following statement is deduced:

"Of the 105,683,108 of the census of 1920, (U. S.), 54,816,200 or 51.9 per cent are living in incorporated places of 2500 and more, and 50,866,899, or 48.1 per cent, in rural territory. Total increase since 1910 was 14.9 per cent, but during the decade there was an increase in that portion of the population living in the urban territory of 12,192,826, or 28.6 per cent; and in that portion living in rural territory, of 1,518,016, or only 3.1 per cent; and if the comparison is extended to cover the two classes of rural territory it appears that the portion living in incorporated places of less than 2500 inhabitants shows an increase of 1,743,317, or 21.5 per cent, whereas that portion living in purely country districts shows an actual decrease of 227,355, or six-tenths of one per cent.

"Not merely has there been a great increase in total population in the countries of the world during the

past one hundred years, but a thorough redistribution has taken place, with a constant diminution of those engaged in agriculture and a rapid growth in industrial life and in cities as the organizing basis of industry." (Beach, "Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems," p. 253.)

It seems clear to the writer that one fallacy indulged in by some who derive conclusions from the figures showing "rural depopulation" is the assumption that the principles that hold true of an entire population should also hold true of any segment of that population, regardless of the fact that the geographical location of any part will determine the numbers in so far as they depend upon the natural factors in that location for a living.

For example, in the following, by Bushee, only a part of the conclusions may be applied to an agricultural population over against or compared with an urban population or a whole population:

"The numbers of the human race, like those of other species of life, depend upon the environment. If conditions of life are easy, population will increase rapidly until conditions become more difficult, when the rate of increase will be lessened through the action of the environment. If the restricting force is the physical environment, population will be limited chiefly by a low birth rate. A more specific statement regarding the action of the physical and the social environment cannot be made for the total population, because society is not a unit but is composed of different groups in-

fluenced by different motives. That part of the population influenced chiefly by the physical desires will tend to multiply more rapidly than the food supply, and their numbers will be held in check by a high death rate. That part of the population influenced by the desire for approbation will limit their numbers to conform to their social positions. That part of the population influenced by cultural desires will also limit the number of births; but the limitation will be determined here by the nature of their work and their powers of achievement, rather than by definite standards of living—hence the birth rate among them will be more variable." (Bushee, "Principles of Sociology," p. 207.)

In the same way, East is particularly concerned with the extent of the birth rate, and in supporting his contention that unless stringent measures of prevention are resorted to, the entire world will be overrun with human progeny. His fundamental principles, applied to the whole population, are sound; but fall short when applied to the rural as against the urban:

"The prerequisite for further expansion is . . . new land; and new land is limited—decidedly limited.

"This statement must be qualified by admitting the possibility of an agricultural revolution that would raise production per unit area in a degree hitherto beyond our experience. I shall discuss this question at some length later. At present I shall ask the reader to accept the unsupported statement that it is highly improbable. Various writers have indeed scouted the

idea of diminishing returns in agriculture, and have gone to great length in enumerating the various factors at work to increase production.

"Efficient labor, less waste, and better distribution will indeed provide for a greater population under any given standard of living. But provision for any particular number of people has no bearing on the population problem. Where more food is provided, more people will appear to consume it." (East, "Mankind At the Crossroads," pp. 66-67.)

While the rural population holds this in common with all population—that its economic status and standards of living will condition its numbers—yet this is not merely a fact in terms of the birth rate and the death rate. Rather we have here a phenomenon of the *movements* of population from city to country and from country to city. While families in the country are not so large now as formerly, yet they are still larger than are families in the city, regardless of the fact that certain forces seem to be working to make for the support of fewer people in the country. Carver brings out this fact in support of a statement that the movement of people from country to city precludes the possibility of any very wide breach between the two populations socially.

"There is no doubt that the tendencies of city life are quite different from those of the country. City life tends to develop ideals, standards, sentiments, and manners different from those of rural life, and thus to separate city people from rural people. If this tendency

could go on unimpeded for a great many generations, it might produce wider differences than it does; but it is checked by the fact that the cities have to be constantly replenished from the country. In any modern city it will be found that many of the most prominent people came from the country, and that the great majority of them are descended from parents or grandparents who lived in the country. While this continues there can never be so wide a distinction between city people and country people as otherwise would occur, for the reason that city people are themselves mostly country people recently come to town—that is, within two, three, or at most four generations." (Carver, "Principles of Rural Economics," p. 25.)

It is evident, then, that a necessary feature of a study of "rural depopulation" would be a study of "urban growth of population". This would be significant not only with regard to numbers involved, but further with regard to the *exact destination* of a given moving rural population, and the *exact source* of those who add their numbers to a given urban center.

"Migration is analogous to the movement of supplies out of an area of market surplus into an area of marked deficit. Most migrations, but not all of them, are movements on the part of persons—breadwinners among them—who are responding to stronger demands for their nearly fixed supply of body and brain power. From the standpoint of an area designated for migration study, there is always a combination of emigration and immigration. The in-movement of one such

area is related to the out-movement from one or more other areas, just as the out-movement from this area is related to in-movements of other areas. The net result of a movement affecting an area may be positive or negative, and may be large or small either absolutely or relatively to the gross movements. Very slight gross movements sometimes merely equalize one another.

"Causes for the persistent decline in the proportion of occupied persons engaged in agriculture include the following: (1) The increase in the proportion of the population engaged in producing commodities and in rendering regular services; (2) The decrease in the proportion of part time agricultural workers residing on farms; (3) The increase in the ratio of working years per capita to the per capita life span, so far as resulting from increased longevity of persons attaining working age; (4) The decrease in the proportion of farm labor time absorbed in clearing, (5) The increase in the use of city-made machinery and devices saving farm labor; (6) The increase in the use of mineral instead of agricultural sources of fuels and dyes; (7) The decrease in the relative prominence of agricultural products among the nation's exports; (8) The decrease in the proportion of all immigrants who become engaged in agriculture in this country; (9) The decrease in the proportion of farm produce consumed on the farm or on nearby markets; (10) The relative inelasticity or inexpansibility of per capita demand for foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials as compared with the relative elasticity or expansibility of per capita demand for pro-

fessional services, for personal and commodity transportation, and for the conversion, fabrication, and elaboration of goods; and (11) The shifting of household manufacturing, farm shop work, and some of the road hauling to persons no longer classified as engaged in agriculture.

"Farm parents are naturally impressed with the fact that their children leave them and go into other occupations after having received care during infancy and at least elementary education. Many young people use their farm rearing as a springing board for an early plunge into non-agricultural service. The proportion of children below working age on farms is high relatively to the corresponding proportion of children enough older to be capable of pulling a part or all of their own weight. According to the 1920 census, 504,000 persons in every million of the farm population were under twenty-one years of age, as compared with 375,000 in a corresponding urban population. The migration of 65,000 mature persons to the farms, or of 65,000 young persons to urban districts would be required to equalize the age distribution." (Stewart, "Migration To and From Our Farms." In the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, etc., Vol. 117, No. 206, January 1915, pp. 52-60.)

CHAPTER VII

AN EXAMPLE OF THE NEW SHIFT IN RURAL POPULATION

STATISTICS reveal that in the two decades from 1900 to 1920 there were great shifts in rural population in many sections of the United States. The facts most stressed by those who have given publicity to these statistics, and some of which are referred to elsewhere in this volume, are these:

The rural population decreased while the urban population increased. The number of farms, and therefore of farm families, decreased. Cases of tenantry increased. Certain rural populations entirely shifted from an ethnic viewpoint. The number of acres of farm land under cultivation decreased.

As to the significance of these facts proven statistically, the following conclusions were ordinarily drawn: The decrease is due entirely to the fact that people are leaving the farms in such sections. The people who leave such rural areas are rushing into the already congested cities. Such a rural area is being robbed of its best citizenship, since the more ambitious and vigorous are migrating. Farms are being abandoned, suggesting a coming time of starvation for city dwellers. Economic life and social life in the country are so

inadequate that thousands of potentially successful rural young people leave, deserting a situation that seems hopeless. Where the shift is one of ethnic groups, there is a one hundred per cent *absence* of Americanism —the latter in every respect being judged one hundred per cent desirable.

The author has conducted a study in certain parts of the state of Kansas to ascertain other facts (some of them not lending themselves to statistical tabulation, but nevertheless *facts,* and perhaps as meaningful as mere "statistics") having a bearing upon the situation. Also, to study the significance of the facts, to ascertain whether, and to what extent, the interpretation usually offered is the correct one.

Thirteen counties were chosen at random, fairly representing the various conditions of farming and living in the general area. From available records, national, state, county, township and school district, a statistical study was made of the following facts with regard to these counties:

Population in 1900, 1910, and 1920: Total; open country and unincorporated towns; Incorporated towns of twenty-five hundred and under; and cities of over twenty-five hundred.

The total population showed a regular decrease during the twenty year period in *ten* of the counties, and an increase in *three.* In each of the three counties showing increase, there is a small city which has grown with each decade. In all three of these counties there was a net decrease in the population of the open country

and unincorporated places during the same period; in one a decrease in the population of the rural incorporated towns; in one a slight increase in these; and in the third a considerable increase in these. In these three cases then, the county growth indicated is found for the most part in the larger cities, and for the balance in the small towns—this growth a little more than balancing the net loss in the open country and unincorporated towns.

In every one of the counties studied, the population of the open country and the unincorporated towns decreased during the twenty-year period. In every case there was a decrease in the number of farms operated by owners, and a corresponding increase in the number operated by tenants. Statistics show a uniform decrease in the number of farms, as well as a uniform but slight decrease in the total amount of acreage in farms. In all but one case, the average size of the farms increased.

An intensive study was made of Saline County, Kansas, to interpret the social significance of these statistics. Some interesting facts and trends were definitely ascertained:

In this county, beginning with an open country and unincorporated town population of 9,944 in 1900, we have to account for a loss of 1,231 by 1920. Of these, 127 are accounted for by the incorporation of that population, extending from a very small town center well out into the country, into an incorporated village. The county seat city grew in the twenty years from

6,074 to 15,085, and enlarged its boundaries by additions taking in much land that was formerly farm land, with the people residing on it. It is not possible to state exactly the number of the population that thus was *not moved,* but by being included in the city corporation, ceased to be counted as *rural.* It is noted also that in some of the other counties studied, the incorporating of unincorporated places adds to the population of the incorporated towns almost the exact number that published statistics indicate were removed from the open country population, signifying that there has probably in such cases been very little moving of population from given places, but merely a reclassification.

It is noted also that in sections of the county especially studied there has been a tremendous falling off in the birth rate in the twenty-year period. A rural doctor who has been practicing in one of the townships for thirty-five years, and carefully keeping books during all that time, states that there are fifty per cent fewer births now than there were at the beginning of his practice. A check on this information from other sources proves it to be true. Many old farm homes in that section that reared in the generation just closed families of eight, ten or twelve, are now occupied by sons or daughters who are rearing families of three or four. In a twenty-year period this decrease in the birth rate of the farm families will make a vast difference in the population showing,—indicating, where new families do not come in, an actual decrease in population. This is a decrease due not to people moving out,

but rather to people not moving in through the avenue of birth, as they did formerly.

In a county of less than ten thousand rural population twenty years ago, with such a rapid decrease in the birth-rate per family, a total decrease of less than a thousand (not counting those removed through incorporating and extension of city limits) is to be reckoned as having in it a large percentage due to this cause alone—the decrease in the birth-rate among farm families.

So much for the statistics of decrease that may not be properly interpreted as a movement of farm population from one place to another,—but are usually so interpreted without further analysis.

In 1920 there were 144 fewer farms in this county than there were in 1900. This evidenced 144 families moved from that many farms. At a conservative estimate of five to the family (and in the earlier part of the period families were much larger) with one family to each such farm, that in itself would account for a loss of 720 of the approximately one thousand to be accounted for by this element of loss and the decrease in the birth-rate.

The average size of the farms increased by about eleven acres. Since there was no new land to be taken up, this increase must be counted as due to the merging of farms one with another. Since 144 farms disappeared in this way, the amount of land which increases the average is to be considered as all taken from that number of farms. This means that no more

than that number of farms received the entire addition of acreage by such merging. As a matter of fact cases are recorded in which one owner purchased and merged five farms, so that where there were five adjacent farm homes in 1900, in 1920 there was only one.

While there were 11,638 fewer acres in farm lands in 1920 than in 1900, this is not to be accounted for by the assumption of abandoned farm land. It is rather to be accounted for by the extension of city limits, the incorporation of a new town, and setting aside of land for railway right-of-ways. There are no abandoned farms in the county. Neither has the setting aside of land for railway right-of-ways caused the moving out of any farm families or the obliteration of any farms as such. Therefore this decrease in the total amount of farm lands has no bearing on the decrease in rural population.

The percentage of farms operated by tenants increased from 33.5 in 1900 to 41.7 in 1920, or a total increase in tenantry of 8.2 per cent in the twenty-year period. However, in a number of cases already studied, the farms listed as tenant farms are rented by adjoining owners who have thus added the acreage to their own holdings, the houses are vacant, and the land being farmed to its full capacity by a permanent and substantial resident of the community. In other cases, the farms listed as tenant farms are being operated by sons of the owners. The original owners have moved, with their families, to town. The son and his wife are heirs to the farm which they are renting, the position

of tenant being temporary. Therefore the usual results of tenantry to the land and to the community do not prevail in these cases.

To review, with regard to the usually accepted interpretation of these facts:

1. The decrease in rural population is not entirely due to the fact that people are leaving the farms in such sections. The incorporation of farm populations into cities accounts for part of the decrease, and the falling off of the farm family birth-rate accounts for part of it.

2. By the study thus far, practically all the people remaining in the rural areas of the county have more improved homes than formerly, and there are more modern homes than in the beginning of the twenty-year period. In this time also, the fewer people remaining have built or entirely remodeled twenty-seven rural school buildings, have instituted and supported eleven new high schools, have closed only two rural churches, have increased the salaries of all resident ministers, have consolidated schools in two communities. They have become sufficiently prosperous to warrant the establishment of twelve new banks, nine of them having erected new and substantial buildings and ten having regularly reported increased deposits. A larger percentage of young people from the farm homes of the county, though these homes are fewer in number, are attending high school and college than ever before. These social effects seem to indicate that the best has not been skimmed off from these communities due to

the decrease in rural population. The decreased population remaining seems to get more of the social satisfactions of life and chronicle greater achievements than did the larger population in 1900.

3. A follow-up study is being made of the people who permanently left this area. No final reports are ready, but some have been traced to new lands in Canada, and some have gone to the cities. This is not *entirely,* then, a rush to the cities.

4. Farms are not being abandoned. The entire product of the farms of the county shows a steady increase both in quantity and valuation. There has been an increase both per acre and per person employed. Therefore the decrease in this rural population need cause no alarm that the people of the cities will starve.

5. Social life is not now limited to the neighborhood to which it was limited in 1900. The farm families studied own automobiles, the roads are good during most of the year; theaters, fairs, movies, and whatever other means of entertainment are available in the average small city are available to all the rural people of the county. Therefore the decrease is not primarily due to the search which young people make for amusement.

6. Certain communities have changed from the type of the pioneer American (whatever that was) to the Scandinavian type. However, judged by the standards of industry, honesty, obedience of children to parents, and the like, the change is apparently not undesirable from the standpoint of American percentism.

7. There are vacant farm houses, and some that were vacated have been torn down or moved to near-by towns. But the farms on which they stood have not been abandoned.

Where the decrease in rural population in this county has been due to the merging of farms, the cause is very apparent that in many cases the farm proved to be too small to be worked with greatest economy by the average farm family. There has been a tendency for the more well-to-do to buy out their neighbors, and for those neighbors to move either to larger acreage of cheaper land elsewhere, or to the city.

Also, in this county there has been wide introduction of power machinery. If a wheat farmer is to own a tractor and a combine harvester-thresher, he must have all the work possible for these power machines to do during the season in which they can be used. Idle time for them is a loss to him. Therefore with the introduction of such machinery he must secure more land and merge farms. He becomes a bigger farmer. More is produced than before. The poorer dwelling houses abandoned are in some cases turned into places for housing the machinery, and the individuals and communities involved seem to be better off.

CHAPTER VIII

ENLARGING THE COMMUNITY

The community idea is fundamental in the societal concept. Gregariousness is a trait of humans as well as of other forms of animate life. Cattle go in herds; birds fly in flocks, fish swim in "schools"; and humans go in communities. While in some phases the individual, as such, is subject to study, yet from another viewpoint the gregarious animal does not exist apart from his group.

Many attempts have been made to define a community. Certain concepts that seem to be essential are: the presence of a group of people in the same time and place; common interest; and coöperative action in terms of that interest. The "place" has been considered usually as necessarily bounded or limited. The boundaries are such as have been recognized by common consent, and may or may not be fixed by natural geographic barriers or limits.

The size of a community in terms of extent was originally determined by the distance to which settlement extended out from the center. If the central settlement originated, for example, in a timber country, the places of residence grew continually more scattered

extending from the center outward, until the dense forest was reached. The boundaries of the community could have been definitely drawn by tracing a line along the outermost limits of the clearing most distant from the town center. In the farther West one customarily found at an earlier time the same situation, as the ranchers pushed farther out from the town center, and the limit was at the point where fenced land left off and the range began. While there were exceptions, yet it usually was the case that one driving from one pioneer town to another in the ranch country would presently get beyond the line of habitation, drive perhaps twenty-five miles or more over an uninhabited country, come to the first outposts, and gradually reach houses placed nearer to each other, and eventually come to the other town. So much open land lay between the two communities that there was no doubt as to the community boundaries in so far as coöperative action of the people was concerned.

A range of hills between two valleys often marked the separation of two communities. Nobody lived up in the hills, and therefore this "no-man's-land" divided communities. There have also been ethnical and even religious boundary lines. An example would be found in a community of foreign religionists occupying a continuous area adjacent to a community of people adhering to another religion and using another language. While geographically all these people occupy a continuous spatial area at the same time, yet they do not have common interests and they do not coöperate in

local activities—therefore to this extent they fall short of being a community.

As suggested before, these boundary lines, either geographical or socially traditional, become fixed in the thinking of the people. It becomes customary to consider certain families as living in a given community, and others as not belonging to it. The "we-consciousness" is conditioned in its scope by this customary or traditional habit of fixing geographical limits.

In the East and Middle West the size of the community has in the past been small. Farming, especially in the East, was of small proportions, since much of it must be done by hand work. Several families could in this way crowd into a fairly small area. In a pioneer time this was advantageous also for mutual protection. The means of transportation and communication in that time further tended to restrict the size of the community. When people depended upon the haul by means of ox teams it was not economical to make the distance from farm to market very great. Likewise when the only way to communicate was to go and see the other party face to face, social integration depended upon proximity.

In the earlier part of the recent period during which rural community studies have been made in the United States, a writer undertook to discover what should be the geographical extent of a community. He recognized that the economic life of the farm people would be a proper basis of calculation. Farm products must be hauled to market, and the length of the team haul

would have a bearing upon the profit made. The question was: "What do farm people consider an economical team haul?" According to the answers received, opinions seemed to favor a distance of about four miles. Calculating this distance on each side of the town center, the conclusion was reached that a favorable size for a community would be an area of about eight miles in diameter.

The traditional limiting walls of the American community have now been battered down as truly, if not as spectacularly, as were the ancient walls of Jericho. The new community is a very much larger community in extent than was the one out of which it has grown.

Since the trend is very clearly for the enlargement of the average community, success seems to be most certain for that community which will volitionally follow this trend. The forces working for such enlargement are interesting to consider. In the case of the place bounded by forests or geographical barriers, or wilderness, the process has been a further invasion of the hinterland. Many of us can remember the time when southern Indiana was a dense forest country. Settlements were in clearings in the forest. Now most of that area has been cleared, and where forests once marked very clearly the separation line, now farms lie adjacent to each other from town to town over the entire area, without any natural demarcation of boundary lines between communities. In a state like Kansas where formerly the settlements were in the river valley, and it was assumed that the upper land would never

be occupied, a similar process has taken place. Farming has extended from the valleys up over the hills in many areas, forming a continuous settlement where formerly there was no habitation. The highways have for the most part been laid out on section lines, and engineers have in many sections brought the roads to "grade" even where it was necessary to blast out and remove large quantities of earth so that the road would run through cuts in the hills; and have filled up adjacent depressions, with the result that there is a definite connecting line from town to town destroying geographical boundaries formerly made by the hills.

With the social growth from generation to generation in the same area, even ethnical and religious boundary lines have broken down. A new generation of people who have not participated in the earlier experiences that fixed their group in language and religion have broken over and mingled so that there has taken place in such areas not only a diffusion of culture but to a considerable extent biological amalgamation.

The motor vehicle and improved roads have made possible to a large degree the extension of the local area. What about a community with a diameter of eight miles when practically all of the families have automobiles in which they can travel from fifty to sixty miles an hour? How far may a farm be located from the center of supplies and shipping when the farmer lives on a pavement and owns a high-powered farm truck? One might become dogmatic and even on the basis of careful study engage in statistical calculation

to decide; but he would no sooner have decided than some new application of power for transportation would make so radical a change in the situation that his former conclusions would seem ludicrous.

What has gone before all leads to the conclusion that in the matter of extent the average American community is an entirely *new* thing.

An important consideration is that which bears upon the process noted in a previous chapter—the decrease in rural population. It may be assumed that for proper exchange of ideas and ideals, and proper support in time, money, and energy for local institutions, a certain efficient minimum of people would be required. Doubtless one reason for the decadence of the old community was exactly the reduction of the number of people below the point that made for efficient coöperation, economically and socially. As has been shown in another chapter, there is a definite relationship between numbers of population and community efficiency; and yet, the decrease in numbers per square mile seems to have been due to sound economic causes. That being the case, it would be entirely unsound to correct the fault of deficiency in numbers by getting more people to migrate to the old community. The same result, however, is obtained by extending the limits far beyond their former locations. It simply means that very much larger numbers of people are taken into the realm of "we-consciousness" and have come to have common interests and to participate in the larger community activities.

It will readily occur to the reader that where towns were located, under the old plan, only a few miles apart, the later extension of the limits of one community would now infringe upon the next-door neighbor. This is decidedly true to fact, and has created a phase of the new competition—a phase which is too little considered by those who are interested in developing successful and adequate community life under the new plan. In some cases a merging of communities by agreement has been brought about, and from the standpoint of the ideal, this might be a desirable solution of the competitive phase of the problem. However, the majority of the people are not idealists, and the world in which we live is very far indeed from being an ideal world. We doubtless are still living in the régime of "the survival of the fittest". In fact, one might well argue that the application of this doctrine might be expected to bring about conditions which approximate the ideal. The individual or community that renders the most adequate service to the social order may be considered most fit to survive. Not all of our towns can live and be successful. There must continue to be a certain mortality rate just as there is among individual humans. Those that are least able to meet the demands of the time and place will succumb first; and those that are most able will survive. The demand of the present time and place is *service,* and the community that renders the greatest service will grow and survive, and the one that renders the least service will decrease and die out.

The vigor of life within the organism conditions its growth and longevity. This is as true of the community as it is of the physical organism. There is that type of community that seems to have no life nucleus, in the sense of having a few vigorous, far-seeing, unselfish individuals who can lead the people to get their vision and to build for the future. "Let the dead bury their dead"—which is, being interpreted, "let the community that has no such living nucleus succumb and be merged into and controlled by the community that has such a living nucleus." To show mercy in this case for the dead community is to be cruel to the new and living community.

CHAPTER IX

IMPORTANCE OF COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS

EVERY sort of success, in political, economic and social life, depends upon *community* success. The welfare of the national government is dependent upon the actions of its local units. Any number of magazine articles and public lectures on citizenship will not avail to produce a strong, wholesome, and permanent nation. The only thing that will accomplish that end is the practice of local citizenship on the part of the common people where they live in one hundred thousand local communities. No national program that does not function in these communities will ever get into effective action.

When it was announced after the national campaign of 1920 that less than fifty per cent of the electors had voted, a nation-wide movement was introduced through the press to correct the ill in the next election. In spite of this effort, in the election of four years later the showing was even more disparaging. The people vote in no national forum. The polls are located in the local communities, and the percentage of voters that exercise the right of suffrage will depend upon a community movement as a necessary part of a national

movement. A *community vote-getting* campaign in the election of 1928 showed tremendously successful results.

During the World War the Director of the Federal Food Administration desired to secure the enrollment of housewives in the effort to conserve food supplies for war purposes. Publicity was given throughout the nation to the fact that during a certain week all women everywhere would be asked to enroll as coöperators with the Administration. The week came and went—and the national effort proved a dud. There were scarcely any enrollments. Then state food administrators were appointed—and still there was no enrollment. Then recourse was had to county administrators—and eventually when the food enrollment campaign was put on for results, speakers and organizers were sent back into the local communities, where the work was actually done with great success. Directed as it was from Washington, D. C., it occurred to a few leaders in that city some two weeks after the enrollment campaign for the communities out over the nation had closed, that the City of Washington, so busy in running the affairs of the nation, had failed to put on the campaign locally. With considerable difficulty that city secured community leaders who would actually get the job done in the Washington community.

Political leaders who have come into national prominence have usually started with political service and leadership in the communities where they lived. So it was with Roosevelt in New York City where he was police commissioner, with Woodrow Wilson at Prince-

ton where as a college professor and later as college president he exerted himself in local politics, with Warren Harding at Marion where as editor of a local newspaper he grew with the town and threw the influence of his publication into the political field of Marion and of Ohio. So it was with Calvin Coolidge first in his little county seat community and then in Boston. So it must be with any national leaders who are to appear on the scenes within the next few important years—they are training now in local American communities.

As in political life, so in economic life. Good business does not depend primarily upon the attitudes and actions of great financiers or of princes of industry. Prosperity in the vast majority of the *communities* of a nation will make for national prosperity. This community prosperity is to be brought about largely by local community conduct, rather than by Federal legislation and appropriation.

During the recent period of depression, it was announced that there were six million unemployed laborers in America. A conference was convened at the seat of the national government to formulate some nation-wide plan to correct this economic ill. The greatest specialists in the field of industrial and economic research were at the service of the national leaders who were grappling with the problem. The best minds were determined to work out a solution which would put into gainful employment this army of six million idle men. Enemies of the movement scoffed at the results when the outcome of the conference

was the recommendation that communities everywhere undertake to solve the problem by beginning improvement of a public and private nature that had been formerly planned but delayed. This would take up the slack in the labor market. If the scoffers were at all justified in their attitude, it was not in that such a recommendation was made, but rather in that it was deemed necessary to have a great national conference in order to reach a conclusion that should have been perfectly obvious. Where else, indeed, could six million men be placed at work, except throughout the communities scattered over the nation? And how else could they earn an income sufficient to meet the costs of living, except by the millions who had work to be done, employing them. As a matter of fact, that is exactly what happened in the partial correction of this industrial ill, and it would have happened just the same if the great national conference had never convened. Laboring men work in communities, whether large or small—and when they are idle, they are idle for the most part in the communities where they formerly worked and where they will again be employed.

Again, the problem of general prosperity is largely a problem of the prosperity of the ultimate buyers. These are scattered over the entire national area. Their buying centers are in the villages and cities where they live or to which they are adjacent. The sellers whom they know and with whom they deal are the local retail merchants. The financiers upon whom they depend are the local bankers. The great business of the nation

is actually done for the most part on a small community basis. More than one-third of the buyers of the nation are on the farms themselves, and this one-third hold the balance of power as to whether we shall have good times or hard times. Their good times or hard times register first in their local communities through the small towns. In this trade relationship inside these thousands of small communities, lies a field of economic possibilities yet almost unexplored. Yet success or failure *here* spells success or failure for the nation as a whole.

The *social* life of the nation is not determined by the upper four hundred. It is not made in Paris, or on Fifth Avenue or Broadway. It is the composite of the social life of these thousands of average communities. What America will do in a social crisis will depend upon what sort of social culture is being developed in the average communities of America. While we have only a little more than one-third of our population scattered out over our farm land, yet more than one-half of the school children of America are in our rural schools. Every decade two million children, of high school age, leave these thousands of average communities and go into the few big cities. They are what the educational and other social standards of the average American community have made them. Eventually they take their place in dominating the life of the big cities and of the nation. If you could look into the average community school today, you would see future America in her educational and social ideals.

Religion, education, recreation, art—the type of all of these for the nation will be the result of the type developed in the average community. To find that community, study it, understand it, and help to build it—this is the greatest service that one can render to the nation and to the world.

The *permanent* welfare of local communities is *desirable* from the standpoint of the citizens who live there, and *necessary* for *national* permanency. Dr. T. N. Carver, Professor of Economics at Harvard University, has reported the surprise which was his on his first visits to certain European farms noted for their fine breeds of horses. The surprise was due to the fact that such a farm boasted only a few acres of land, and a very small number of animals. However, the community had a number of such farms, and on each one every member of the family thoroughly understood every item of the business. Also, he found that in most cases the same farm had been in the family for many generations, with some member of the family carrying forward the particular breed of horses for which that farm and community was noted, through that entire period of time. Then Dr. Carver understood the reason for the fame of the breed and of the community.

Our men who were overseas expressed their appreciation of the road construction of certain areas in France and Germany. Some manifested wonder that we in America had not developed as good highways as had these foreign people. But such critics have for-

gotten that these people have been building roads for many centuries in the same places, and have through permanency of settlement made it possible for each generation to add its quota to the general accumulation of might and mind and money that have gone into permanent roads.

While newness makes for audacity and vigor, age and experience of a people make for wisdom and permanent achievement. The life of the individual is at best short, so that if national welfare and social progress should depend alone upon his unorganized and unrelated efforts, the social order would be one of frequent and violent fluctuations. The individual dies, but the community lives on. Therefore in America we must give more attention to building our communities with an idea of permanency. The individualistic pioneer day has gone, never to return. The day of action through community organization has arrived, and challenges us to build *together*.

The agencies that make for community endurance, are the legalized and incorporated institutions, for their life span is not limited to three score years and ten.

We have been passing through a period that was marked by enthusiastic *movements*. The Youth Movement, the Boys' Movement, the Girls' Movement, the Feminist Movement, the Health Movement, the 100% Americanism Movement, the Men and Religion Forward Movement, the Interchurch World Movement. These movements, as such, all show a tendency to wane and pass away. Evidently society is not to be devel-

oped through spasmodic campaigns by erratic and brain-storming individuals or organizations. Movements are simply the temporary extension of the personalities of certain influential and enthusiastic individuals, and are for the immediate time and place. They cannot be used to supplant permanent institutions. Government, Business, The School, The Church, The Home—these are the fundamental institutions of the community that carry on after any given generation has finished its four quarters and heard the shot that ends the game and tells the score. Playing teams come and go, rise and fall,—but the good old institution goes on much as before, only aided by the accumulation of experience from generation to generation of those who play the game.

Society has real reasons for holding tenaciously to her established community institutions. Through thousands of years of painful toil she built them, and we may be assured she did not build them except through the recognition of real needs for them. We cannot so well get along without them as we could get along now if there were suddenly removed from the life of a great city, electricity, and the gas engine. These did not always exist. We made them. We once got along fairly well without them. But now they have become part of the very lives we live, and we cannot get along without them. So with our institutions.

Institutions do not exist in abstraction. The State, Business, The School, The Church, The Home—theories may be built up with regard to their ideal forms

of organizations, but they do not really exist as institutions except they do actually take form, and function with feet on the ground and heads not too far into the clouds. To benefit America, there must be successful institutions on American soil.

Neither do these institutions exist on a *national* basis. It is unthinkable that any one of them should have form at all if confined to the national scope only. They exist first and before all in the local community. The government throughout our entire population area is made up of what is going on at the County Court House, or with the Township Trustees, or in the City Halls. They are centers of the activities of the people in their governmental capacity. They are the homes of these permanent institutions that go to make up the government of a democracy in a great republic. Political life is essential to a people. It must exist without reference to the coming and going of individuals. Here and there an individual is found who has some quarrel with the government. Perhaps he considers politics rotten, and boasts that he has nothing to do with politics. Such a dissenter may live and die peaceably—but it is the very political system which he condemns that makes it possible for him to either live or die in peace and security. Government may say, like the brook, "Men may come and men may go, but I go on forever."

The local citizen then will function as a citizen only by taking an active interest in local government. This means community citizenship. If local government

does not suit him, he has a free right to use all law-abiding means to change it. But he cannot in justice to society of which he is a part, ignore it either through laziness or through an undue conception of his own cleanness as compared with the insanitary condition of politics.

Organized business is particularly an institution that thrives on permanency of support. Our corporation form that has developed in this modern time has made possible the institutionalizing of business. A corporation frequently leases land and buildings for a period far in excess of the possible lifetime of any of its living stockholders or directors. Many of the great corporations of America have lived through three or more generations under the same name and doing the same type of business. They have become institutions. In a much more striking way has business become an institution in society through modern community organization of business interests. The Chamber of Commerce, The Farm Bureau, and like community-wide organizations for business men of the city and of the country, have come to take their places as agencies permanently to carry on business progress. One may not like the way local business is conducted. For this reason he may remain out of his business organization. Nevertheless, the merchant who stays out of his Chamber of Commerce and the farmer who stays out of his Farm Bureau, is to that extent a ward of modern society, getting results from the work of an institution which he is not helping to support with his time, energy, and

money. The kindest attitude one can have toward him is one of pity for the ignorance that keeps him isolated from his local business institution, and that makes him appear to others like a parasite.

Various educational movements attack the community from time to time. They are good, bad and indifferent. But from our earliest colonial days the local school, the community educational institution, has been with us. It is still with us. We would not seriously think of trying to get along without it in the community. Yet one finds citizens who are very zealous to forward some pseudo-educational movement for boys or girls, and boost for a temporary organization, and who never visit the schools, have no word of encouragement for school teachers, and strenuously oppose increase of taxes for making the local school a better institution.

So religious movements of various unattached cults make their appeal to the people in the community. One seeking to appear broadminded quotes Walt Whitman as saying that he did not belong to *a* Church because he thought so much of *the* Church—having in mind an idealistic ethereal idea of a church universal. But it is very apparent that without *a* church in each of a hundred thousand local communities in America, American humans would have little relationship with *the* Church Universal. As well talk of government, or of business, without any government institution or business institution. One in business would not make any profits if he were content merely to hold to an ideal

of business and deceive himself into believing he belonged to some sort of a universal business cult. He would doubtless awake from his pipe dream with a keen sense of needing an income from some local business that would protect him from hunger and cold.

The institution of the Church, of whatever order, is here in your community. We humans built it because we had to have it. We cannot get along without it. Therefore, however we may differ as to what sort of religion shall function there, and by what methods, we cannot differ on the proposition that the community must have the church. That means the local citizens must be in it, and express that part of life through that institution.

The Home is especially a community institution. There is no national home, or state home, or county home, except for the needy who have no normal homes. Homes and the houses that protect them for shelter and privacy form the community. The family as an institution is a *community* institution, and exists permanently as such regardless of the erratic social movements that come and go.

We build the community, then, by building its institutions. A community is successful to the extent that its institutions are successful.

CHAPTER X

THE BUSINESS SIDE OF THE NEW CULTURE

To indicate what the new culture means in the development of new trade demands, the experience of a typical midwestern state is significant.

Rural Kansas is becoming urbanized. In the past fifteen years the farm people of the state have been capturing for themselves those advantages formerly procured and retained only by city folk. The quality market has reached the farm.

City dwellers who ridiculed the people "from the short grass country" because they showed evidences of the lack of certain kinds of equipment and behavior that made in a general way for urbanity did not understand the economics or the psychology of the situation. They were guilty of short-sightedness, while the farm people were possessed of long-sightedness.

The pioneer farmer was under the necessity of developing an estate as the basis of future earnings. Under present conditions that estate averages a valuation of perhaps $25,000. Of all those who leave estates as legacies in America, only the upper fifth reach so high a mark. Therefore it was expecting the farmer to perform a herculean task to take his place among that upper fifth.

To buy and pay for a farm, including his dwelling house and home equipment, plus his plant for business activities, required that he conserve his income to put back into his capital fund. He therefore was under the necessity of foregoing the means of social relationships and the material luxuries gained by city people.

The pioneer time has passed. It may take the East a long time to learn that fact with regard to a typical western state. Perhaps the "wild-west" fiction and movies of the time cause the conviction to linger that Wild Bill Hickocks and Sockless Jerries roam the plains states; and that Indians and cowboys, sod houses and prairie-dog villages, are still western characteristics.

Living closer together is not the only way of conquering isolation. In 1913, over on the Vermilion River, I rode horseback into a farmer's yard. The early spring had been exceedingly wet, and the roads were almost impassably muddy. The man who accosted me was of the type who boasted that he had lived there since the early day, and had never been outside of his county.

"Quite a wet spell," I volunteered.

"Yes," he answered; "but we're going to have the worst drought this state has ever seen."

"How do you figure that out?" I asked.

He replied, "National Democratic administration. Never did know it to fail. It always fetches a drought."

Sure enough, 1913 proved to be a serious dry year in that area. In the fall I called on him again, and he solemnly referred to the fact that his prophecy had

come true. The next time I saw him was in 1916, in a distant city. He hailed me proudly, and explained that he was taking the family in the car on a touring trip to the Pacific coast and back. The year before they had toured to the Atlantic. He was not the same man, and the members of his family were entirely different, too.

The Kansas population may be taken as a fair example of the way in which rural people have recently adopted new habits and come onto the market for new goods.

Kansas farm folk are on wheels—and it has all happened in the last few years. On a low estimate, we have an average of one-and-a-half cars to every farm family. This means that some farmers have two or three cars. When you put 800,000 people into more than 200,000 cars, and start out over the farm area and into adjoining states, you can scarcely say after that, that they are "isolated".

This was written just at the close of our annual farm and home week at the Agricultural College. The roads were slippery at the beginning of the week, and the attendance was light—but the latter half of the week gave typical spring weather, and suddenly nearly a thousand farm people appeared. They came from every section of the state, some from a distance of two hundred miles or more, *in their own automobiles.*

The same experience could be duplicated in any midwestern state. Each farmer has become his own engineer. His vehicle carries its own power, and he takes

his family about over the state at his own will. Incidentally, he forms a new purchasing public for automobiles, parts, gas, oil—and all the other accessories that go with motoring. Better than all, he and his family are cosmopolitan—more than the average city family.

"There's a new community house in a town fifty miles north of us," said a farmer from Ford County last week, "and my family and I often drive up there to attend some of their interesting affairs. We frequently meet and get acquainted with folks from fifty miles in the other direction." This gives rise to the questions: "What has become of the isolated farmer?" —and "How big is the modern rural community?"

Then there is the motor bus. It has taken the place of the prairie schooner and the stage coach. It is an introduction of the last ten years in the Middle West; yet see how it has already revolutionized the life of the state and bound rural and urban people into one great community! Although so new a venture, it has developed in this one state forty-four separate routes. The busses make more than three hundred and fifty separate cities and towns, and traverse thousands of miles of country roads.

If four or five thousand miles of electric lines or railways had been built in one state in the last ten years, much would have been written about the unprecedented phenomenon. But these bus lines have developed so naturally and to meet such a rapidly but quietly growing demand that even the people living in the state

scarcely grasp the social and economic significance of this new means of transportation.

When a public service vehicle, with ample accommodations for travel, and offering low rates, makes regular daily trips over the country roads, stopping wherever passengers wish to enter or alight—then most of the advantages of the railroad town have come directly to the door of the farm family. One riding on any one of these lines, is impressed that country people are making use of this new type of passenger coach, to go shopping in a near-by city, to go on a visit to friends, and even for the young folk to go in to high school or college.

Now that the people in the smaller cities are discarding their street cars, the country people have acquired "road cars". No longer does a member of the family have to wait until the carriage is going to town, as in the old days, or until father or older brother is ready to drive the "car" in, as in more recent times. The bus serves the purpose, and brings the transportation situation for country people "right up to now".

Isolation? Eight years ago there were no radio receiving sets in Kansas farm homes. *Now it is estimated that there are 62,000!* Incidentally this represents an investment of about six million dollars; and the number of sets is constantly increasing. There are still about 90,000 farm homes to be supplied with them.

New York City, Los Angeles, Detroit, Des Moines —or what will you have? These are all brought into the farm home according to choice. Nor is the cost

of installation and upkeep considered other than an investment; for along with these long-distance programs come the market reports and the weather prognostications, putting the farmer in touch with those forces that have most to do with profits in his business.

Scientific education that is right up to the minute also comes in daily over the radio from his Agricultural College.

Recently a careful survey was made to ascertain to what extent farm people in the State listen to agricultural lectures over the radio. Two thousand three hundred eighty-four farm homes having radio sets were investigated. Of these one thousand six hundred sixty-two reported that members of the family listened to these lectures as often as twice a week, and six hundred sixty-two reported that they listened regularly every day. It is safe to say that there cannot be found any other type of business people who make the same sort of constant and practical use of the radio as is made by these farm people.

An outstanding characteristic of the city has been the predominance of manufacturing through the use of power machinery. Large units of capital are needed to own and operate power machinery, and therefore it has been assembled in a few places, with the workers brought together to be near the factory where the machinery is installed.

If the use of power machinery is the outstanding mark of a process which may be named "industry", then agriculture in a typical plains state like Kansas is

rapidly become industrialized, and to this extent rural life is being urbanized. Also, a tremendous commercial trade volume has been developed in entirely new commodities. In 1918 there were 5,415 tractors in the state. In 1926, a total of 31,170 were being operated on Kansas farms. Here we have during an eight-year period more than a thirty-one-million-dollar business transacted between the city man and the country. People who own and operate big power machinery become different in their conception of the size of their business and in their social outlook.

Consider again the introduction of the power-driven combine. In 1918 there were fourteen in the State, and it was an open question whether the machine would prove practicable under prevailing conditions. In fact, the question has been discussed more or less ever since; but with the net result that the number being operated in the harvest fields in 1922—only four years later—had risen to 2,796, and in 1927 went beyond 12,000. In 1926 there were, out of the one hundred and five counties of the state, only thirty-four counties in which combines were not operating.

Here is an eighteen-million-dollar business transacted with farmers in one state during eight years. Counting together these two types of big power machinery, the tractor and the combine, we have a total in this state of about fifty million dollars paid from the soil to the city manufacturing plant which turns out farm power machinery.

Looking at it from another angle, in the last ten

years the state under consideration has become a great agricultural industrial plant, operated by 43,000 power machines capitalized at fifty million dollars. By this means as well as by improved management the farmer has so increased his efficiency that the farm unit has enlarged, and the less well capitalized and less capable have gone out of business.

The farmers of Kansas expended for gasoline at twenty cents a gallon $2,301,000 for use on the farm in a given year. Add to this, oil and repairs, and this annual business introduced into the industry of agriculture in the last few years would run well up toward three million dollars. This is a tremendous contrast to the self-sufficiency days of the typical pioneer American farm of a few years ago.

Electricity has arrived on the Kansas farm. A study made in 1925 brought out that 900 farms were receiving service from electric transmission lines owned and operated by public service corporations. Many of these not only had electric lights, but ranges, washers, ironers, refrigerators, and every other electric device to make the home modern. On some of these farms were electrically operated pumps, machine shops, silo cutters, and other types of farm machinery. This all sounds very much like the discussion of a manufacturing industry. When farming begins to *act* like a manufacturing industry, it may well be expected to be placed in that class.

Another indication that this typical state is industrializing itself is found in the statistics with regard

to manufacturing. In 1920 agricultural production aggregated $882,000,000, while manufacturing outstripped it with $913,000,000.

Henry Jackson Waters once said: "No greater good fortune could befall the farmers of this mid-western country than to have erected alongside their farms manufacturing enterprises which would give them a good local market".

These figures would seem to indicate that just such good fortune is coming. Neither is the manufacturing centralized in a few congested areas. There are about 1,000 rural towns in the State; that is, places of less than 2,500 population.

Within a few weeks the writer made a study of one hundred eleven of these towns chosen at random from the entire State. Seventy-one of them have manufacturing plants of some kind. These range from the one-man shop to the shop employing 100 workers. In these seventy-one towns there are one hundred and ninety-four such manufacturing establishments.

A continuation of the study throughout the entire 1,000 towns doubtless will show the same percentage having these small manufacturing plants. The average of those already studied is one and three-fourths to each town.

At this ratio with 63 per cent of the rural towns having manufacturing plants, there are probably one thousand small manufacturing industries in that part of the State which is listed as "rural", and by the uninformed considered entirely agricultural.

The type of output of the rural manufacturers so far studied ranged all the way from toys, through auto chains, garden tractors, pumps, picture frames, flour, butter, ice-cream, cheese, cabinet work, overalls, playground swings, brick and tile, reed instruments, brooms, tractor lights, candy, monuments, cement blocks, and auto-trailers.

From the business standpoint a new picture of the average rural state in America is being thrown upon the screen. It is the picture of a progressive, industrialized, urbanized, successful farm people, making new demands upon the manufacturing world for commodities and services to meet a new standard of living.

CHAPTER XI

COMMUNITY BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

We may as well admit at the start that we are living in an intensely pecuniary period, and are all quite inextricably involved in the general business life of the time. Today it is still true that "business is business" —and it is also true that, as never before, "business is life!" Where business is true to sound economic laws, nothing better could have happened to our time than to be overtaken by this business age.

In a meeting of the Community Organization Section of the American Sociological Society a few years ago, I had mentioned the Chamber of Commerce as an organization ideally equipped to carry forward certain community projects. A leading sociologist of the nation arose, and said, "I want to ask you this question: Is it not true that the Chamber of Commerce is interested mainly in those projects that will bring dollars rolling down Main Street?" The answer was that the charge is correct—and that there is nothing inherently improper in being interested in having dollars roll down Main Street. In fact, since the American town is the center of all business enterprise in this country, a good living for all of us depends exactly upon this joy ride of eagles down the "Main Drag". Even the

college professor is not averse to an increase in salary, and he should very well know that it is possible only when and where "business is good".

Ancient philosophers taught that in order to attain the chief good, one should withdraw from the sordid things of daily life. It is not on record, however, that those who withdrew failed to maintain some sort of contact with the material world so as to be assured of at least a minimum of goods for food, clothing, and shelter. Those who carried their heads in the clouds have usually stood on the shoulders of rich patrons who sordidly engaged in "business as usual".

The slogan, "business is business", was used in derision when business was a sort of individualistic sideline; but now that business has become the leading issue the phrase has acquired new significance. The finest tribute that can be paid to a professional man or artist is, "He understands his *business*". A political leader or a social leader feels complimented to hear that it is said of him, "He is so *businesslike*". Evidently there has been a development in the business world which has caused it to incorporate within itself the virtues that are most admirable.

There are still those who deplore "this modern machine age". The following of their logic would lead us to desire a return to the Paleolithic Age. That was the machineless stage of economic and social existence. It immediately followed the time when the person was limited to his claws to tear down branches for his house and to strangle his meat and rip it from the

entrails and bones. When he found that he could make a cutting instrument out of a stone, he greatly extended his personality. Those who could cut with stones easily conquered those who still depended upon the finger nails and toe nails. When he learned that he was not limited to the length of his arm, but could hurl from it a stone that would project his strength still further, he stepped almost completely from the animal world into the human. Modern power machinery is just the latest word in this long process of extending human personality. It is beginning to have its effect upon the lives of rural people, and helping to introduce the "New Community".

Those who decry the machine age certainly do not have in mind the culture of the modern home, with its electric lights, power sweeper, modern plumbing conveniences, gas range, and easily prepared food—which have emancipated woman from drudgery and have brought her to the status of a "person" on her own behalf. They surely forget the twenty-four-hour day of the slave, and the serf, contrasted with the eight-hour day and five-and-a-half-day week in modern industry. The preacher who decries "materialism" and "this awful machine age" has a cathedral for which the very stones were quarried and dressed by machinery; and where electric lights, a power-driven pipe-organ and machine-made furniture all add to the dignity and joy of religious service. He rides in a high-powered automobile to the hall where he gives his address derogatory of "this machine age". Now if the idealist really

wishes to be consistent in opposing materialism and the machine age, is it too much to ask that he forego the salary which is garnered for him from business coffers, and that he go out into God's open country and "back to nature"? This is not an idle taunt. The fact that he does not do so is really a compliment to the social idealist in that we recognize that his practice is more rational than his theories.

There are a great many delightful zephyrs stirring the air, but the most important winds that blow are "trade winds". This is a fundamental proposition in the movement for the development of better relations between town and country.

Perhaps the tendency to place a program of community betterment in the realm of the ideal and the philanthropic is after all merely an escape device—unconsciously an unwillingness to establish right relationships in those practical activities of life which for all of us are in the realm of making a living. It is easier and costs less to talk about "helping" a class of people to which we do not assume ourselves to belong than it is to reorganize our common business relationships so that no one will really need to be "helped".

In the new urban-rural set-up, the time has come when we may do well to cease talking about town people and country people as though they were to be dealt with as two separate classes in the community, and come to recognize the larger community as a unit, composed of people who have common business interests and common social interests. From the community

standpoint, there is no more actual distinction between those who farm and those who retail than there is between those who retail and those who manufacture. Retailing and manufacturing are conducted in plants more closely assembled, and the homes of those engaged in these lines of business are located more closely together; but aside from this fact which has unfortunately created something of a sectional difference, the people and their economic needs and practices are about the same.

The common use of the term, "trade territory", seems to connote a general acceptance of the fact that community lines are approximately trade lines. Where business is good for all persons living in a community, there is an opportunity to make other relationships right. Where business is not on a sound and just basis, it is futile to talk about other types of community welfare. Our ideals, to be effective, must be expressed in terms of our everyday life. Those who sell goods and collect bills, and those who buy goods and pay bills, know that "trade" is the most common experience of our everyday lives.

In the present rapid shifting of population a great many towns are doomed to become decadent and die. But here we are seeing another example of the survival of the fittest. In twenty-five years we evidently are to have at least fifty million more people in the United States, and there are many evidences to indicate that they are to live in populous villages or small cities, and so become parts of large communities including the

farm people. These people are going to be attracted to those places where they can make a living under the best possible conditions. Therefore the right development of the trade territory will tend to class a community among the fittest to survive. It is a part of the new competition; not to be deplored or antagonized, but to be recognized and used.

Our trade relations of a local nature have grown up like Topsy. No one has budgeted them ahead. This is due to our having passed through the days of pioneering, in which the individual, in a contest with all other individuals, launched out to exploit the country. No one ever heard then of a "trade territory". The trading out-post reached as far beyond into the sparsely settled country as possible. The "trade-at-home" doctrine had not been developed, because the meaning of "at-home" had not yet gained significance. Town-site companies sprinkled towns all over the country, and each town became self-conscious and claimed the right to the trade from a definite area.

It was the game of anybody who could stay in it, and the records of the percentage of failures of agencies for retail trade indicate that it was a rough game in which only a very few could win the victory. Fatalities were very large.

Business clubs of various kinds have begun to recognize that we have passed out of this pioneer type of competition, in which every man's hand was raised against every other man. The most encouraging sign in this whole field of community endeavor is the zeal

with which such organizations are seeking to work harmoniously together to develop the whole community.

This is a new business program for a new time. In a day when those who engage in corporation business in large units frankly realize that the first step to take in business development is to engage in research to know what are the new conditions to be faced, it certainly is not casting any aspersions upon the business people of small communities to suggest that perhaps they, too, are not entirely informed as to the new local trade conditions that have arisen.

The first step, then, in developing the trade territory, would be the making of a survey of that territory, in terms of trade. If there are not right relationships among the various occupational groups of a community; if there is a feeling that the community is losing out in the competition; if people are commonly heard to confess, "Our town is dead";—then this has not all come about by chance. There are reasons. The causes can be ascertained, and an energetic business group can change those causes so that more desirable effects will be the result. When the many welfare fads and social service projects that have recently captivated the attention of some of our organized groups have proven themselves to be unsound and merely temporary, we doubtless will turn more soberly to a fundamentally scientific program of developing a well-balanced community.

Having made some study of trade territory problems, the writer submits the following examples to indicate

the importance of basing a community development program on a practical study of the facts involved.

The town of F had a population of about four thousand, with another population outside the city limits of perhaps three thousand. Retail business seemed to have slowed down, and the merchants jumped to the first conclusion suggested to them as to the reason for the slump. *It was the mail order house.* So they began a campaign to fight that institution. There seemed to be plenty of money forthcoming from the business men of the town to pay the costs of this crusade. The local paper, feeling the necessity of being true to the advertisers, contributed columns of space free of charge to project its barrage at the common enemy. "Trade At Home"; "Don't Support Out-of-Town Industries"; "The Mail Order House Pays No Taxes in F"; "Bring In Your Mail Order Catalogue, and We Will Duplicate The Prices"—these were the slogans borne by posters in the show windows.

Finally it occurred to an inner group of the crusaders that it might be the part of wisdom to find out *how much* trade the mail order house was getting from the community. The writer was asked to add this feature to a survey he was making at the time. The result showed that *the mail order house was getting less than five thousand dollars a year from these seven thousand people.* That was about seventy-one and a half cents per person.

Now this is no brief for or against the mail order house. The point is that the merchants had spent much

more fighting that outside agency—and to no avail—than the outside agency had received in profits from the local trade area. Although they prided themselves on being "keen business men", and in matters of trade they doubtless did not overestimate themselves; yet here was a case in which they spent their money before they investigated.

The merchants of the little city of M, a place of about ten thousand, constantly condemned a large group of farm families in a near-by valley, because they would not come to town to trade. When they were not condemning them they circularized them with advantages of M as a trade center. Yet the farmers seldom came on buying trips. After spending time and energy and money scolding and cajoling, it occurred to one merchant to investigate; and he found that on the only road leading from the valley there was a hill which was most of the time impassable. It took only two days of work, after this discovery, for farmers and merchants working together to put that road into a condition of repair so that the people could come to the town to trade.

The county seat in a southwestern area had lost its retail business. A number of people had moved out during a semi-drought period, and when the drought was broken the farm population that moved in went to a smaller town to trade. The new colony happened to be made up of Amish settlers. The county seat merchants assumed it was because they were "low-down foreigners and ignoramuses" that they did not

come to town, and cursed them for buying their goods from distant supply sources. The writer was called in to make an investigation. It was found that these Amish people were frugal, honest, industrious and well-to-do folks, whose trade would be very desirable; and that they were not sending out of the county for their supplies. Another town had grown up in the county, about the same distance from the Amish settlement as was the county seat. The road from the new farm settlement was not a very good one, and it led south into an east and west highway. At the intersection of the two roads, it was really a little nearer to the county seat than it was to the new town. The investigator took a short drive out into the country, and made a discovery. The merchants from the new town *had dragged the road from about two miles off the main highway, and graded the curve onto the highway in their direction.* When folks drove in to trade, they just "followed the main road".

One could continue indefinitely with illustrations to indicate the tremendous losses suffered by small cities, due to the fact that in so many cases merchants are simply waiting behind their counters for profits to come in, and depending upon past memories or hearsays with regard to conditions in the trade territory, rather than sending a trained investigator after the facts.

Recently I visited a city of fourteen thousand population where the Chamber of Commerce had sold the idea to the business men that they would better quit guessing about the trade territory. A research special-

ist had been employed to get all the facts. A study was made among the patrons of the town stores, to find out why people traded with certain merchants and not with others; what suggestions patrons had to make as to possible methods of improving the services offered by the merchants; what are the extreme limits of the present trade territory, and what are the chances of extending those limits; why the business which goes out of the community *does* leave it; and by what methods that which is worth holding could be held. The Chamber of Commerce had a complete report on general community trade facts and conditions, and twenty merchants of the little city had each a special transcript of the facts as they applied to his own business. Some of the revelations were astounding, and scarcely believable even by men who had been in business there all their lives and supposed they knew everything that had transpired. But that city is not guessing any more about local trade conditions. It cost them about one thousand dollars to find out, and they say it is the best investment they ever made.

Another type of business research that seems to be desirable appears to be in the field of the local marketing situation. A very large percentage of our cities of the Middle West depend to a great extent on making their money out of the surrounding agricultural population. A farmer does not spend his money in town, unless he *comes* to town. Will someone please explain why a small city in an agricultural area should be a good place in which *merchants* are to make money, and

not a good place in which *farmers* can make money? Here and there merchants have shown themselves alert and ready to change to meet a changing time, and brought the trade into town by arranging agencies through which the farmer could sell as well as buy. In one such effort a sales company was formed, the stock being owned by the merchants of the town. A superintendent was employed to have charge of their warehouse, accepting all kinds of produce and paying the market price for it. The produce was shipped on into a large city for disposal. The Chamber of Commerce advertised that the Merchant's Produce Company would purchase at any time any produce that arrived in salable condition, and pay cash for it. The theory is that when the farmer is in town with money in his pocket, he will spend part of that money before he leaves town. The warehouse is not a money-making scheme, but a trade-exchanging scheme. The stockholders are willing to write off a small deficit annually if necessary.

Even a good-sized city, if it depends upon trade from the agricultural producers, might find it a paying investment to make a careful investigation to learn the *facts* concerning the marketing opportunities which it affords, and to discover how it may extend them.

There is need also for research in the field of town industries. Here are some cases that have come to the writer's attention: A town of five thousand paid one hundred thousand dollars (in stock purchases) to secure a factory to manufacture hard rubber tires.

They had at the time no electric transmission line for power, and also suffered from a shortage of available water even for home supply. Their little factory looked good to them—but if they had gone away from home and seen what they were competing against, they would have known they were "stung".

A town of thirty-five hundred undertook recently to raise a bonus of one hundred thousand dollars, to secure a shoe factory. They had succeeded in raising sixty-four thousand dollars, and were starting on a campaign to have those who had already donated increase their subscription so as to raise the entire amount, when it was suggested to them that they might wait and look into a few matters. For instance, was the company asking the bonus likely to operate the factory, or would they sell out to a larger one that would close it? Did the subscribers know that if fifty per cent of all the shoe factories would run full time they could produce all the shoes the market would absorb; and what advantages did their little town have that made them feel they could succeed in competition against such an already overcrowded field?

It would be cruel to continue to expose these business men who "leap before they look" when they go after industries. There are some signs indicating that in certain areas industry will extend into small towns. The soundness of the movement makes the psychology of it extremely dangerous. It creates the tendency in business men of small cities that have been jealous of their larger neighbors, to grab the first thing that comes

their way looking like an industry. It gives the new type of "gold brick" man the chance of his lifetime to unload his goods.

Industrial research in the local community might establish the following facts: Presence or absence of ample source of power for operating a proposed industry; adequacy of water supply; nearness to raw material; transportation facilities, freight rates in comparison with larger places that may have preferred rates—as for example, the river rate; whether there is need of new plants of the type contemplated; *why* a plant should be moving from another place to our town; the location of the market in relation to the location of the plant;—and a lot of other factors which will make for success or failure.

Where the writer has been asked to talk town industries before a Chamber of Commerce, nine times out of ten he has found a number of industries already present, which the people of the town did not recognize as such and were not supporting. A creamery which needs better financing and a larger available milk supply; a large bakery which proposes to ship bread to surrounding smaller towns—and half the people in town using bread that is shipped in from the outside; a flouring mill producing a good quality product—and the merchants preferring to sell their customers flour made several hundred miles away; a struggling cheese factory, that turns out an inferior product because of poor management and the management poor because the local business men will not properly finance it and

patronize it. A careful investigation will often reveal, in a town which is longing to bring in an industry, from twelve to twenty such plants that might grow into big concerns if the local people would get back of them and support them.

As a community organization specialist, the writer has seen, as have numbers of others in his calling, the result of community research work in establishing a high school for which the district proposed to vote one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in bonds and levy a perpetual tax for support; or aided in a soils survey in order that persons making their living from the soil might know what they were working with; or a milk survey, before a group of men were allowed to invest their money in a condensing plant for which there might be no available raw material. Therefore one seems to have the right to assume that research in terms of "trade" would be as sound and as productive of results. It is at least refreshing to find that a small city here and there has conducted such research, and quit guessing.

CHAPTER XII

THE NEW TRADE TERRITORY

When big business interests find a large population group where there are new possibilities of trade, large sums of money are expended in studying the newly discovered field for trade purposes. The United States Department of Commerce, for example, has stressed such studies in the South American countries. We have had trade relations in these countries before, but the point is that we have just discovered the possibility of selling new things in a new way if we come to understand the prevalent conditions of living in those countries. We have also noted that commercial interests of other nations have discovered the same trade possibilities and are giving us new competition.

If it pays us to make new studies of distant trade areas, it surely will pay us to make new studies of *local* trade areas. The local trade area in the average community is the area in which we find the farm population. The business of farming has passed its crisis and is entering a period of sound prosperity. This means there is beginning to be noted an upward trend in farm buying power. Other things being equal, this trend should continue for a number of years. This means

new money for those who have finished products to sell to farm folks.

The big mail order houses sense this situation and already have research men out in the field studying the trend of new farm needs and new levels of farm purchasing power. The farm business of the next twenty-five years will go to those agencies and trade centers that know most about the farm business and will work hardest in rendering service to get that business.

Doubtless the local merchant knows that the same trade territory is out there some place beyond town that has been there for the past fifty years. In one sense it is; in another sense it is not. In a very real sense it is a *new* trade territory with which he has to deal. There comes to the mind a picture of a town merchant who was recently sold out by the sheriff. He had in stock a great accumulation of goods and tools and machinery, of various and mongrel makes, which the farm people had been buying from him and his kind year by year. He had not noticed that buying had fallen off also year by year. That fellow actually had in his machine-shed parts of farm machines that had become obsolete ten years ago. He had a big stock of phonograph records of a kind for which no phonographs are any longer made. He had calico prints that were in vogue twenty years ago. He had other dry goods of a former vintage that actually fell to pieces through sheer shame of being out of date, when the receiver tried to unroll the bolts and measure them, in the invoicing. That bankrupt merchant did not

know there was a new trade territory all around him. He did the same old business in the same old way.

The trade territory is new in its demands, and new in its abilities to pay. A friend of mine from the East told me of an entire area in which the farmers had developed home water works in the past few years, and yet in which no merchants in the towns kept plumbers' supplies or tools. That meant the farmer must send away to get his wants satisfied—and only because the local merchants did not know their trade territories.

The trade territory is also new in that there are fewer people in it (thanks to the age of power farming and the fact that we have cured ourselves of the rabbit habit) and that those people are buying many more things per person. That latter is due to the raising of the standards of living. The territory is new also in that there are others besides the local merchant going after the business which is to be found there. In this new age of rural free delivery and parcel post, of cement pavement and automobiles and high-powered trucks, there are many chances for the farm purchaser to secure goods other than from the local merchant.

All of which seems to mean that the local merchant can no longer stay behind his counter and wait for the trade to come in, and take his profits by selling the customers what happens to be in stock when the eager buyer appears on the other side of the counter. It means that the local merchant who is awake is studying his trade territory as never before, getting out into

it, and is a go-getter. Neither is he afraid of the slur of "Main Street" or of being called a "Babbit".

An increasing number of town merchants have begun to recognize the farmer also as a business man, and to join with him in business enterprises. They have junked the phrase, "Business men and farmers", and speak of "town business men and country business men". They have come to realize that the prosperity of the town depends upon the prosperity of the farm area, much more than does the prosperity of the farmer depend upon that of the merchant.

In one typical town, a Chamber of Commerce was changed to a "Community Club", and a leading farm business man made president. That made a farmer the leader of the community business interests. It was just, and also good policy. It's a great coincidence when the right way proves to be the "best policy" also. In many communities this mutuality of business interests has found expression in a movement to make the town a good place for the farmers to sell in, as well as a good place for them to buy in.

For example, at Higginsville, Missouri, a joint association of merchants and farmers has maintained a big sales pavilion, and promoted a semi-annual auction sale of pure-bred stock of all kinds. This put the farmers into pure-bred stock as a side line, so that in the aggregate they would have enough for a big sale. It brought the farmers into town, not by a bid to buy something cheap, but by a bid to sell something at a good price. Of course, they spend their money in the town. Buyers

came in from all the surrounding states. That meant business for the local taxi men, the hotels, the banks, and all. It also meant that the buyers brought money from the outside and turned it loose in the community. It would be an inferior sort of merchant who couldn't get his share of that money into his own till by rendering the service that would call it home to its proper resting place.

It has come to be the going thing for merchants to take an interest in the boys' and girls' agricultural clubs. That's good business. When a farm boy or girl learns how to do things in the economic way, and how to produce wealth, and how to conserve that wealth, there will be before long a farm man and a farm woman who will be an economic asset to the community. Merchants who are helping to support these clubs are statesmen building for the future business prosperity of the small towns. With a better understanding of the meaning of wealth and its production, these coming men and women will be better and more intelligent buyers. Of course (let us whisper it softly), it will take better and more intelligent merchants to get and hold their business. In short, any way in which the merchant can help to make farm business more prosperous, will result, in the long run, in prosperity for the merchant.

Here's a "don't": Don't try to get the farmer to move to town. That's not the way to build up a town. A paragrapher in the paper in a Missouri town had the temerity to write this: "The trouble with our town is

that there are too many farmers who moved into town to die, and then sat down and forgot what they came for." Nor is that against the farmer. It is rather a compliment to him. He simply must be industrious in the business which he knows and likes, or he becomes restless and unpleasant to have around.

The merchant finds it a good business proposition to help the farmer to be successful on the farm. A community of tenants is not a good business community, and the best way to prevent such a disaster is to so organize community life that the owners themselves will stay on the farm.

There is one town known to the writer in which the merchants through their Commercial Club have opposed rural schools, and have condemned the farmers for trying to establish high schools for their children. At the same time they have tried to get the farmers from all over the county to send their children to this particular town school. They have succeeded to such an extent that the town is full of retired farm families, brought there to educate their children. That means that each farm rented out is forced to support two families—that of the tenant and that of the owner, with one of those families doing nothing toward producing wealth. That's miserable economics. Pretty soon neither the owner nor the tenant will have enough money to justify the merchants in trying to hold their trade.

Another town has practiced just the reverse policy. Business and professional men go out to the country

grade schools and the rural high schools, and help in every way possible to encourage the people to stay on the farms where they can produce the wealth that is the foundation of community prosperity.

Dr. T. N. Carver has said, "You don't get your chickens to come home by throwing stones at them." It's another way of saying that time spent in useless fighting never gets anyone anywhere. Coöperation is the watchword of the new age. That means coöperation among towns as well as within towns. If the merchants in small towns and in county seat towns had quit fighting a long time ago as between town and town, and given that energy to working together in studying and developing the trade territory, towns would be in a much better condition than they are now, and rural trade would be much more nearly up with the times.

Here's a county (one can find many of them now) in which the towns have buried the hatchet. Representatives of all the towns in the county meet together frequently to study the needs of the trade territory, and their common problems in serving that territory. The larger city or county seat town also sends representatives, not to see how it can kill the smaller towns, but to learn how it can develop manufactories and wholesale services in a way that will help the small-town merchant to succeed better. It doesn't pay any town to go in deliberately to kill off another town. A town is just like a person; if it has the pep and stick-to-it-iveness it will get ahead, and "every knock is a

boost". If it lacks those qualities, it will die anyway. Time and energy spent in fighting it, in either case, is worse than wasted.

"Get acquainted with your neighbor; you may like him." Or, in other words, it isn't any further out into the country than it is from the country into town. Merchants in live towns have begun to court neighborliness with the farm people. The members of the town club go out to meet with the neighbors in a country school house. The town church closes up on a hot summer Sunday, and the folks go out to a grove and meet with the farm folks in religious services.

In recent years the "trade trip" has developed as a means of attempting to draw from outlying areas into the town. The merchants have loaded themselves into cars—the more cars and the more expensive, the better—and driven through the surrounding country distributing advertising literature, giving trinkets as favors, and otherwise seeking to attract attention.

When it became too evident that the name "trade trip" advertised the fact that they were out after something, the name was changed to "fellowship tour".

But it was the same trip, made by the same "trippers". The leaders have often boasted as to the number of towns visited, the number of automobiles in the parade, the number of miles travelled, the number of pieces of advertising literature distributed, and the crowds of people addressed by the speakers where meetings were held.

There has been no way actually to check up the

volume of trade (if any) flowing in after the "trippers" have returned.

This latter would be the real test of the value of such a project. Whether you frankly call it a trade trip, or prefer to name it a fellowship tour—since money and time are expended upon the enterprise it should bring returns adequate to justify the investment.

It is to be doubted whether the usual project of this kind really has the desired effect. In the opinion of the writer, practically no farmer customers or small-town customers are attracted to the city in terms of trade, by such a processional through the countryside. There is at least one case on record in the Middle West (United States) where such a tour of trippers was impeded in its progress by numerous punctures from tacks which had been placed in the highway by persons who resented this encroachment upon their own "trade territory".

Jealousy functions not only in the artistic and professional world, but in the trade world as well. Flaunted prosperity of the business men from the county-seat city or larger metropolis, does not beget a kindly feeling on the part of the merchant in the village or the farmer who feels himself unjustly dealt with.

Of course the man who makes the showing of prosperity may very well argue that such sentiments are unworthy of his serious consideration, and declare that he is entirely justified in pushing the limits of his own trade territory as far away as possible. This may all be admitted. But if there is a less offensive way of

advancing trade through contacts with the people in the outlying area, that would be the way which would commend itself to the far-sighted "go-getter".

Formerly the near-by city or town was sure of the farmer's trade, because of convenience of access. But the time has come when the farmer does not need to trade in his own town if he does not want to. He may buy from the mail-order house, Uncle Sam kindly acting as his messenger boy, banker, and delivery man. Here again, the retail merchant may not like this way the farmer has of doing business through the post-office department, but stone-throwing will not entice the rural purchaser away from the habit. Bulk-buying, coöperatively, is another method by which the farm group may deprive the town merchant of profits which otherwise would have come to him. Good roads and farm autos also allow the farm customers a choice of towns in which they may trade. This all means that we have come to the time when the town merchant must go out after the rural trade, and practice real salesmanship in order to hold it and develop it.

There is a maudlin sentiment that opposes the use of high idealism in securing trade. Friendship, common interests, fellowship in civic action—if these are engaged in as a means of improving trade, the cynic is heard to say, "He does it only for the sake of business."

This only proves that the cynic has not kept abreast of the times, and has failed to discover that big word (much over used, it must be admitted) in modern trade relations,—*Service.* When the significance of that

word is once even partially realized, then one may understand how the expression of idealistic sentiments and relationships may properly enhance trade, become genuine in terms of profits, and react again to create still better means of serving.

One of the greatest influences among farm people, is that of "neighborliness". Whatever may be said of the disappearance of this neighborhood sentiment and practice from the large centers, no one who has had any experience in the countryside will deny that it is the prevailing force in the rural trade territory.

Neighborliness is a relationship which may well be established by the merchant, with the farmer. The discovery may then be made that while the constant effort is put forth to get the farmer to come into town to see the merchant, it is really no further for the merchant to go out into the country to see the farmer. It is true that he will not make a sale at the time of the visit, but he may secure a customer which will mean an entire family trade and possibly an entire neighborhood trade, for many years to come.

King, of the "king-road-drag" fame, once said that when the merchant rolls his car into the farmer's yard, which he may do on very rare occasions, the farmer knows he is there for one of two purposes: He wants the farmer to assist in the grading of a road to town, or to vote for a certain candidate for office.

In a Mid-Western city of more than seventy-five thousand population, the Retail Merchant's Association has for a number of years carried forward a

project of neighborliness in relation to trade. A committee for this purpose keeps in touch with rural neighborhoods, ascertaining when important events are to take place. A school exhibition, a Christmas entertainment, a grove picnic, a rural schoolhouse "literary", a public sale,—or any other event which will bring the farm folks together as neighbors. Even though some such event may fall on a busy Saturday, a merchant is detailed to take his family in the car and attend the neighborhood meeting. If a basket dinner is one feature of the affair, the visiting merchant fills his basket with the same type of things (if he can afford them) which will be found so amply stored away in the baskets of the farm families. Usually a farm family acquaintanceship in the area will bring an invitation which will take away any impression that the city family is intruding.

One after another of the men who have made this sort of a "trade trip" have testified that they began in this way some of the most valuable relationships of their lives. The country neighbor hunts up the city "neighbor" when he comes to town. Neighbors tend to trade with neighbors.

Good-will has a cash value. Nobody decries it simply because it *does* have such a value. Where good-will and neighborliness are made means for rendering greater service, both parties to the relationship are benefited.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL TOWN

Since human beings first began to have fixed places of abode, towns have come and gone. It is no new phenomenon that the degree of permanency of these aggregations of population should fluctuate. Those who dig into the ruins of the distant past find towns built one upon another, the earlier ones having been buried in the débris of time, and the succeeding ones built by newer generations who evidently had no idea they were planting their habitations on a series of village graveyards.

Even in a young mid-west state, one can find remains of Indian towns of the somewhat distant past, and other remains of towns built in the boom days, and now marked only by cellars here and there in wheat fields.

The present mid-western town is probably a more nearly fixed and permanent factor than towns have ever been in previous times. Let this be considered seriously by those who have been prophesying that the small towns are doomed to be wiped from the face of the map.

Their doleful predictions were the result of near-sightedness. They saw the progress of rural depopulation, with a parallel falling off of town business;

the better road leading to the near-by larger city, tempting farmers and town residents themselves to go further afield for their trade and social relations; the parcel post bringing the big mail order house to the front gate of the farmer, apparently giving him less and less the feeling of the need of the town center. All of this seemed to spell disaster and death to the town. But this was the short-sighted view.

A national community development program that would involve a period of twenty-five years, is interesting to young men now starting out for success in life, because they can expect to profit personally from the improvements achieved.

In that period, science and invention promise us a decentralization of population due to the scattering of industrial plants away from the great city centers, out over the area of the Middle West agricultural regions. This will bring the city consuming public near to the farm producing areas. The distance between our great industrial consuming population and the source of their food supply, is a large factor in the problem of low profits to the producer and high prices to the consumer.

The problem of agricultural surplus in the United States is largely a problem of the Middle West. In certain lines of production it reaches even to the Pacific Coast. From Ohio westward extends the area of inadequate returns due largely to this difficulty, and this is the section of the country from which the "green rising" has been most vocal.

Our biggest domestic markets are east of this line where the great industrial centers have been located. Our chief foreign markets for agricultural products are in western Europe, where the teeming millions look to us in part for the supply of their food. In these latter markets we are in close competition with the people of other agricultural producing countries; and in many cases these competitors can produce more cheaply then we, and are in more strategic locations with reference to shipping facilities.

Our great cities like New York and Chicago doubtless may continue to grow; but there are many evidences that they will not in the future take up their percentages of the increasing population as they have in the past. The movement to scatter business and industrial plants from the centers to the outer edges of these cities is already on. Boards of Realtors are even now discussing how to retrieve the financial losses which must follow the exodus from congested downtown districts. Water Street, Chicago, once called the world's busiest street, picked itself up bodily and moved to the country beyond the city limits, to get away from congested conditions. As the big mail order houses have established branches from city to city, they have invariably built them in the country; and as they have opened up retail departments they have had the advantage of offering customers free parking space, plenty of it, as long as they want to use it.

There probably is a size beyond which a big city cannot go in safety to itself and its people. When that

size is reached, business and social life must begin to slow down, and after a period of suffering, people will tend to leave the place where their progress is retarded, and find places of greater freedom of action. It is a well-known fact that our great city centers are so congested at the present time that the automobile, which was designed to speed up our living, has actually slowed it down. In older areas in the United States, the population has already begun to spread out in industrial villages through the country, as can be affirmed by anyone who travels by automobile in certain Eastern centers, and undertakes to ascertain where one city ends and the other begins.

People are showing a tendency to get away from the irritating and time-consuming rush of the downtown centers. This runs counter to the theory that alarmists formerly had, that the increase in population in congested centers would continue at the rate which has been witnessed for the past 25 years. Evidently the move has started in the other direction.

As a result of this tendency, towns many miles from the big city are becoming suburban towns. People of wealth and ability, and of leadership in big affairs, are moving into such towns. Whereas it was formerly expected that the hard-surfaced road from such a town to the great city would "kill the town", it is now developing that city people are seeking the country by means of the hard-surfaced road. We said a few years ago that there could be no movement to the country, because the farms would not support more workers. That

was true. But we did not realize that there could be a move to the country with the *city* supporting the workers and spending city money in the country. So the towns adjacent to the big cities are dressing up and taking on an attractive appearance, and drawing city people there to live. This is all to the advantage of the farm population, because these new comers must be fed, and the farmer's customers are thus being brought that much closer to him.

The movement of industry to the small towns out from large city centers connotes a reversal of former trends in all the history of the factory period.

"Centralization of industry—which the manufacturer seems to have been no more able to resist than can a moth keep away from a bright light—has in effect made our industrial establishments pay an ever mounting premium in overhead taxes, inadequate facilities, and in other burdens inherent with location at congested centers." This is the statement of a prominent city engineer.

What have been the "bright lights" which have attracted the industrial "moths"? Available power, and means of transportation. Very rarely have manufacturing plants sought locations near the place of production of raw materials, it being under former conditions more economical to haul the bulk raw materials to the points where power was available and from which the finished product could be readily transported to the world markets. This is the reason for the statement, "A lode-stone of industry always has been, and probably always will be, the presence of power."

Wherever there is available power and ready means of transportation to world markets, we may expect manufacturing plants to locate. Wherever these plants locate, there will be aggregations of population, to engage in the manufacturing enterprise. Wherever there are aggregations of populations employed at good wages, there are good markets for agricultural products.

Mills and factories located in New England originally because of the presence of water-falls which in the old days offered the most practicable and readily available means of power. Also, nearness to the sea coast with the world markets beyond, encouraged such location. Paper mills continued there long after the wood for the pulp was exhausted, and the raw materials were shipped in from a distance. When steam power became available, the mills remained, supplementing the water power furnished by the small rushing stream, with the steam engine. The working population had been assembled, lines of transportation had been established, and it looked as though the old order would remain. Today science and invention have brought sources of power and means of transportation right to the doors of the average home community.

The raw materials are near at hand, land can be secured very cheaply as compared to the high prices in the congested centers, and labor problems are not so annoying out where there is more room.

There is much speculation as to the possibility of scattering industries over the rural areas of America in the very near future. Many believe this will take place through the extension of super power electric

transmission lines. Wherever there is such a line, connected with power centers, there is available infinitely more power in each local community than was ever dreamed of by our early industrialist who located his factory on a little New England stream where he could operate a water wheel.

A prominent New York engineer recently said: "Super-power removes the bogey of power uncertainty in the isolated location. With the presence of power general, spread out into present rural communities, the undeniable hold of the industrial centers will weaken. Factories and mills which through economic pressure have already been driven to the outskirts of the city, will scatter and will relocate to secure still greater economic advantages in expansion and in operation. Almost within sight is the presence of power through the eastern half of the United States. It is also present on the Pacific Coast and in the Northwest. It behooves every manufacturer to further the movement, and by transplanting his factory when the time is ripe, to capitalize the utmost on his foresight."

Transportation facilities become the other factor in the location of industries. If the power can be secured almost anywhere, then to locate factories in rural communities will require that means of transportation become generally available.

In the field of world transportation, Mr. Hugh J. Hughes of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Tidewater Association, has recently called attention to the fact that conditions up the St. Lawrence River offer possi-

bilities to the Mid-Western home communities. Work on a twenty-five mile stretch of that river would bring ocean-going vessels to the Middle West. While this would have a bearing on the shipping of farm produce across the Atlantic, in the estimation of the writer it will have a much greater bearing on encouraging industries to scatter through the Middle West. Water shipping is much cheaper than shipping by rail, and such a project completed would give continuous water transportation from the midwestern factory directly to foreign ports across the Atlantic, for the shipping of manufactured articles.

President Hoover has recently said, "The construction of a shipway from the Great Lakes to the sea is imperative both for the relief and the future development of a vast area in the interior of the continent." A report of the St. Lawrence Commission of the United States declares, "The values in a single year to the farmers alone would equal the capital cost of the waterway."

Another project which when completed will have a direct bearing upon the town and country people of the Middle West, also has the endorsement of President Hoover. It is the construction of a deep waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf, providing a freight water-route from Chicago to New Orleans. Some time both of these will be completed, and the visions of those dreamers who see ocean-going barges traversing agricultural America will become a fact.

An observer and student of the situation would

scarcely dare bring into this new transportation picture, the airplane for freight purposes, if he did not have the opinion of an expert and recognized pioneer in the field.

A sub-head of a recent article in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* states that A. B. Lambert, "St. Louis pioneer in ballooning and aviation, backer of Lindbergh, hero of many thrilling adventures in air, useful officer in the World War, has designed an airplane *truck,* and is going to have the Wright factory make it for him soon."

In a personal letter to the writer, Mr. Lambert says: "My contention is that mail precedes express, and express precedes freight, whether or not the community is located on a water front or a railroad. For air mail, air express, and passengers, this is now an assured means of transport used by progressive communities in competition to promote business. It is obvious that the first necessary essential is an adequate airport. *Classified freight will soon follow!* A community could not at present thrive if the only means of delivery were restricted to the plane; however, *the day is coming!*"

Science and invention are introducing a real program of farm relief by bringing into the rural areas of America the industrial workers to consume the products of the farm, without necessitating the shipping of these products to so great a distance. These people will be good buyers of food products, because in factories they will be receiving adequate wages for manufac-

turing the things the world needs, and these manufactured articles will be carried out to the rest of the world through the various new means of transportation.

CHAPTER XIV

ATTEMPTING A FARMER-CONTROLLED GOVERNMENT

A MAN who relinquished the reins of a governorship to his successor, said: "I came into the governorship a farmer, I am leaving the office still a farmer. I have battled as best I could for what I thought the farmers and workers were entitled to". This man had been heralded widely throughout the nation as "the dirt farmer governor". This phrase, "the dirt farmer", has been coined by certain radicals in public affairs in the past few years. By the "dirt farmer" they mean the man who is a farmer now, always has been a farmer, and has never done anything else except farm. It is a question whether farmers are best represented in public life by a "dirt farmer". It cannot be denied that the farmers of the nation sorely need fair and honest representation of their cause in state and nation; or that they show much common sense in passing legislation on matters that concern agricultural states.

But when the farmer goes into big public business, one of two things happens; either he ceases to be a farmer and stays in public life—because losing largely his hold on his private interests he learns the game and can play it as well as other men who have learned it

by the same process—or he continues with announced pride to be a "dirt farmer", holds tenaciously to his private calling and interests—does not learn the game exactly because of this divided attention, and leaves public office discredited. In the former case he ceases to be a "dirt farmer"; in the latter, he ceases to be a public official.

Recently, I heard an agitator "point with pride" to George Washington as having been a farmer. He urged his farmer audience to help bring back the good old days when one of that calling would be President of the United States. It may be that Coolidge was close enough to his father's farm to give practical advice to farmers. It must be admitted that being sworn into the high office of the Presidency of the United States by lamplight in a farm home, with an old farmer reading the great oath of office, gives a somewhat rural atmosphere to the situation. The Iowa farm home of Herbert Hoover presents the right background for an expectancy of helpful farm legislation. But neither of these gentlemen has ever been classed as a "dirt farmer".

Nor was Washington in any real sense a "dirt farmer". His youth was spent as a frontiersman. At sixteen years of age he became a surveyor; at twenty-two he was an active officer in the French and Indian war, and from that time on was never entirely out of public life until his retirement from the Presidential office. The broad estates of Mt. Vernon he inherited from his rich brother, and developed largely with the

addition to his wealth brought by Martha. Prior to becoming President he had spent only a few years of his life at Mt. Vernon, and even during that time he must have farmed largely by proxy, for he was a member of the House of Burgesses and of the first Continental Congress, and was head of the military committee of the second Continental Congress. He was, in fact, the best example the time afforded of the Virginia "gentleman farmer." But he was not a "dirt farmer."

The professional farm "organizer" marshals statistics to show that farmers have been steadily crowded out of positions of political leadership. They were not crowded out by any other force than the advance of our national civilization. A distinctively agricultural nation is weak, and our sensible farm people, fully as much as any other group, have demanded that we develop industry, finance, and commerce. That meant a period of big city expansion. For this rapid development as a manufacturing and commercial people, as well as in order to become world bankers, we demanded the leadership of men who had gone to the top in business.

Sometimes one hears agitators in the Middle West and older sections of the United States cursing the railroad corporations. The homesteaders in the early days out West didn't hate the railroads. The railroads were the arteries of life to them. They had learned by very definite and concrete experience that farmers don't get anywhere without railroads. Jim Hill and Harriman and Huntington were praised then, each in

his field, as a Moses to lead the farmers out of the wilderness of isolation. If a man had railroad sense and influence, the farmers of that pioneer place and time were glad to help him into official position. If a factory could have been brought to Red Gulch, the "nesters" would have bonded their last acre of land and put the biggest industrial leader they had on the job to secure the boon for them. If anyone had said, "let a 'dirt farmer' do it", they would have replied "a 'dirt farmer' doesn't know anything about big industry."

The farmer gets interested in staging a comeback when he feels things are unbearable. That is, the farmer movement is a protest movement. It is when times become unbearably hard that he leaps into the limelight. He always comes as a fighter. He comes with a protest against the existing order in business, education, politics—or all together. Often he is more than half right in his contention. But a protest movement cannot live for long, and those who launch it go out with its decline. Two results of any such movement assure its speedy death: First, as it meets success, former opposers are wise enough to accept the inevitable and take over enough of the program to rob the reformers of the sane part of their thunder; second, it takes to itself all the disgruntled and disappointed ne'er-do-wells in the country. With the really worth while parts of the program gone to the opposing groups, these crazy elements add all of their impossible schemes to the dangerous fragments which remain. Finally,

sane and decent people leave the movement entirely. Roosevelt said the Progressive Party was pulled down by the "insane fringe".

When the Farmer's Alliance and the Grange veered into politics and had a new birth in the Populist party, we had a splendid example of this farmers' protest movement. It is truthfully urged that a great number of the planks of the Populist platform were afterwards made permanent by the two old parties and enacted into laws. That fact only bears out the contention that a farmers' protest movement has in it the germs of its own destruction. Some other facts also stand out in relief. This farmers' party "petered out", and was left as a woeful remnant, with nothing but the crazy fringe remaining. It also killed the Alliance, and did great damage to the Grange. Sockless Jerry, Mary Ellen Lease, and some others of their type, who most valiantly protested, came up to dizzy heights of notoriety and plunged suddenly down to awful depths of oblivion.

Another fact noticeable in these intermittent farmer attempts to take control of public affairs is that the "dirt farmer" leadership is usually of the poorest. The odds are so much against success, and the costs of campaigning so great, that the genuine "honest farmer" cannot be made to risk his own business and that of his family while he leaves his farming and goes around the country trying to save the world. The man who can be secured to do this sort of thing where such risk is involved is the erratic flannel-mouthed, clownish cari-

cature of the farmer. Let us be honest about it: no substantial farmer will for a moment admit that Sockless Jerry or Townley or even Magnus Johnson have been real examples of the American farmer.

It must also be taken into account that the farmer's protest movement has always been contorted—one-sided. Before a group of educators and students, a "dirt farmer" public official made the statement, "Let government look out for the interests of agriculture. Industry, commerce, and finance can take care of themselves."

Now, government is a big piece of work that calls for good management. The basic law of all good management is "the law of balanced proportions". Our sane farm people know it is not true that all government needs to do is to take care of agriculture, and in some way industry, commerce, and finance will get along all right. In fact, there never was a time when successful agriculture was so dependent upon industry, commerce and finance as in the present time. The development of international markets, the German reparations—these are questions that have a very definite bearing upon agriculture. In a state where agriculture predominates, it would be much safer to say, "Develop prosperous industry, commerce, and finance, and the right sort of education, and agriculture will take care of itself."

Another fact to be faced by those who look favorably upon farmer control of public affairs is this: Whenever any class gets control, all other classes make common

cause against it. Even groups that ordinarily fight each other will, in the emergency, forget their differences and turn upon the common enemy. Add to this the assurance that the class itself cannot be counted upon to hold together and early defeat is doubly sure. This is the real safeguard of a people's government against control by any one class.

"Very well", says the enthusiast for reform in the interest of the farmers, "let us find another class that will make common cause with us, and form a coalition to give such a numerical majority that we can take over the power and hold it." He looks about and finds Labor also has grievances.

Hear the note from the swan song quoted earlier in this chapter. "I have battled as best I could for what I thought the farmers *and workers* were entitled to". Is that prophetic of a new leadership for the Farmer-Labor group?

This hope of the farmers and workers making common cause and ruling the nation is bound to be a dud. Idealists were saying a few years ago, "Well, it is working in England." The answer was that in England the "farmer" is usually a hired man, and, therefore, has common cause with the hired man in industry. The owners of the big farms were not found in the Labor Party—it was their workers who had grievances in common with all other workers.

In America, the farmer is first of all a capitalist. Even if a tenant, he ordinarily owns his stock and tools of labor. The industrial conflict is between capital

and labor. The farmer is a capitalist, who often furnishes his units of labor also in the threefold productive combination of land, capital, and labor. In that sense he is a worker—and a hard worker. As a capitalist, he cannot have any sentiment in favor of the labor union man's contention for higher pay and shorter hours for the industrial worker. As a capitalist, he cannot support organized labor in its tendency to cut down the rate of production. That decreases the profits and slows down the business of every capitalist, himself included. To the farmer, demands of the workers in industry seem to spell higher prices for everything he has to buy.

During the war, when the leaders of the Non-Partisan League and the I. W. W. were vamping each other, it was announced at one time that they were about to come together in working agreements. For a little while, one wondered if the radical elements were really going to be able to bring about this coalition. When the next copy of an official I. W. W. organ came out, in one column on the front page was a glowing account of progress made in getting the support of the Non-Partisan League for the Agricultural Workers of the World. The one big union seemed about to add to its number in America more than six million new members—the farmers of the nation. In another column on the same page was a red-hot article addressed to the Weary Willies who were going out to Western wheat fields. They were told (and truly) that the farmers had been meeting and agreeing upon prices

they would pay harvest hands, and planning not to overbid each other because of the scarcity of workers. The I. W. W.'s were urged to be true to their fellow workers, and hold out against the farmers in this attempt at coercion. They were instructed to literally throw monkey wrenches into the machinery,—which is another manner of saying "chains into the thresher"—and in various ways to practice sabotage, until the farmers would be forced to pay the wage demanded.

Then one knew that no matter how much any misguided political leader of either the farmers or the industrial workers might "battle for what I thought the farmers and workers were entitled to" he was really battling between the lines. He might just as well announce, "I stand for the militant cause of both capital and labor". The more the American farmers work along that line, the more they are scattering bird shot to no effect.

Then how is the American farmer to be given a square deal in public affairs? By giving public affairs a square deal. Important as the actual process of farming is, it is only one of the factors in public affairs. Government of the people, by the people, for the people, is still our goal—and not government of, by and for editors, or plumbers, or lumber dealers, or bankers, or retail merchants, or "mere college professors". The great industry of agriculture needs representation, but Calvin Coolidge, the lawyer, or Herbert Hoover, the engineer, may be safer for the farm interests than a "dirt farmer" would be in the President's chair. In

the Senate two of the greatest exponents of the cause of the farmer are found to have been one a newspaper man and the other a college president.

Since farm population turns into city life a very large number of farm-trained children a year, farmers are surer than any other class of a square deal from those who have leadership in public affairs. The old slogan, "Give me a child until he is seven years old, and I care not what you do with him after that", is still true and sound. A very large proportion of our city and national leaders were born and raised on the farm. The rural neighborhood is the mother and father and school teacher of many of our state and national leaders. "Blood is thicker than water". The blood that flows today in the veins of the big newspaper man in the New York office, Hoover in the White House, the "Senator from this-or-that State", the railroad president—this is the same blood that flows in the veins of brothers and sisters and fathers and mothers down on the farm.

In other words, the farmers are already in "charge of affairs", through the farm home and the farm school. That's the reason our national life is, after all, so sound. Politics, industry, commerce, education, finance—each one is a business in itself, just as farming is a business in itself. One may go from one calling to another, in this free country of ours, but to very few men is it given to be successful in any two callings at the same time—and the "dirt farmer" is no exception to this rule. He will check his finance up to the finan-

cier, his education to the educator, his commerce to the commercial leader, his politics to the stateman—while he continues in charge of his farming—and plus that, produces and trains a fair percentage of the leaders for all of these activities that make up public affairs.

CHAPTER XV

NEW LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The nation is made up of states; the states of local units: counties, townships, incorporated villages, and cities of various classes. For the most part, throughout the country, large cities figure little in the affairs of the rural people. Those under the classification of incorporated villages are most numerous in which the people live.

Rural government—the government of more than fifty per cent of our people—is the government upon which we need to fix our attention for national welfare. Within this scope, incorporated villages and townships are for the purpose solely of conducting their own affairs. They have little to do with the representative feature of government. But the county is an integral unit in our political system. Representatives are sent from the county to the State Legislature. Counties are formed into small districts for the election of Congressional representatives to be sent to Washington. So the county, primarily a rural political unit, becomes the representative unit in American government.

Whatever one may say about the rottenness and inefficiency of politics, yet politics is the science of government, and county politics is the science of county

government. Throughout the greater part of the nation, it may correctly be called the science of rural government.

Through the institution of government, certain functions of the community are to be performed. It is useless to advocate movements and organizations to take over these functions. Such movements and organizations will be made up of the same people as go to make up our political groups, and there is no assurance of better action through these agencies than is possible through political agencies. It is foolish to keep trying one agency after another for the performance of public functions, rather than to work at making the institution of government a fit agency for such action.

The public highways are coming to be more and more the arteries of the life of the state and the nation. But the public highways exist locally, no matter what national and state programs of construction and maintenance are promulgated. Colorado for example has a great system of state highways, yet in a typical county of sixteen hundred population, there are eight hundred miles of highways to be maintained by county government.

Good roads days have been advocated throughout the modern community movement, and in some cases have been successfully staged. Such road movements awaken public interest in the condition of the highways; they appeal to the dramatic instinct; they give people that satisfaction which comes with working together for the achievement of a common and desired

result. But on second and more sober thought we know that good roads throughout the nation are not to be developed by good roads days. Government has the duty of road development and maintenance, and public-spirited citizens do well to lend their efforts to performing this function through the institution that is finally responsible for its performance.

Law and order are to be maintained among the people. This, in the rural area, is peculiarly the function of county government. It sometimes is not well attended to. Vigilantes, home guards, night riders, and the like, are the names under which movements have masked when citizens have grown weary of slowness of local government and tried to take law and order into their own hands. For brief periods, and in isolated places, it has seemed the only way out—and yet all such movements have been short-lived, and have finally given over the business of maintaining law and order to the agency to which it properly belongs—government. If all the citizens who are interested in this phase of public welfare would get into local politics, have an active part in nominating sheriffs and judges and representatives to our law-making bodies, there would be little if any need of special movements for better citizenship and for the enforcing of law and order.

The maintaining of the public health is another function of government. Certain organizations have pioneered in this field, and with splendid pioneer results. Health Associations, Health Crusades, The Red Cross

organization—these are representative of some of the attempts of temporary agencies to work at this task. In cities, health and welfare agencies have joined for their support in a Community Chest movement, to make a gigantic drive upon the public and secure donations for the payment of secretaries and the purchase of equipment to carry on such work. This has doubtless been necessary in a time of pioneering, when the public needed to be awakened to their need of health and welfare work. Viewed from another standpoint, it certainly seems questionable to tax a people for the support of the institution of government to perform these functions, and then in an annual drive demand from them again more money to support movements and organizations to perform the same functions. When we become civilized, we surely will pay in the form of a tax a sufficient amount of money amply to support these health and welfare activities; and not deceive ourselves into thinking we are saving money when we lower taxes and make it impossible for government to perform its functions, and then get good, or frightened, and pay much more to private agencies and movements to make amends for our lack of support of government.

Who of you, in your counties, know how much money is needed and how much is expended for the work of the county physician—for medicines for the poor, for establishing quarantine, for burying paupers, for feeding the poverty stricken? Who knows how the county farm or poor house is being conducted and

what it is costing and what results are being secured for the money expended? When we all get interested in these vital functions of the local government of which we are a part, we will know the details of this governmental action, and help direct them in a manner that will be at once economical and efficient. We certainly will not delegate these functions to irresponsible movements and organizations.

The local county government has the duty of recording deeds, probating wills, issuing marriage licenses, examining people for their sanity, determining to what state institutions shall be sent those suspected of being feeble-minded, criminal, epileptic, insane, and the like, All of these functions must be performed wherever there are numbers of people, and the local county government is the institution which we, the people, have built for the performing of such functions.

Then there is a government relationship to other institutions. The Farm Bureau, since it is supported by Federal and State and county funds, becomes from that angle a part of the governmental institution. The Board of County Commissioners under whatever name passes upon the county appropriation for this work, and in case of a division one member of the board holds the deciding vote. There are some cases on record where the work of the Farm Bureau has been very successful, with two members of the county board for it and one against—and the election of a new member changed the vote of the board and discontinued the appropriation, destroying the work of the Bureau. There

are certain appointive powers, and an immense amount of valuable commercial patronage, held by the commissioners or the county court. Are leading and efficient business men of the community ready to stand for election to this responsible office of county commissioner or judge? Or is the job left open to some inefficient politician who can secure it because no successful business man will sacrifice his time and money in such public service? If the system does not work, it will not prove beneficial to try to get around the system. The system is institutionalized in government, and if it does not work the only way out is to get into the affairs of government and make necessary changes from the inside.

There are about three thousand counties in the United States. County government is the most exacting and autocratic government in the world. It costs more than all other units of government put together. It affects more people than are affected by any other type of government. If we are to have better State and National government in America, we must begin to give new attention to county government.

"The Man Without A Country" has his counterpart in so far as local government is concerned, in the average American farmer. The farmers' government is for the most part county government.

County government in the United States holds two world championships: It is both the most expensive government in the world, and it is the most inefficient government in the world.

Yet it is the prevailing government in the local units of rural America. It has been declared that the chief weakness of county government is that it has no head, and that which has no head, has no brains.

We are talking much about reducing taxes at Washington. We have even adopted a budget plan for the Federal government expenditures. But we need to realize that the amount of money which the citizens of this country pay directly to Washington is a mere bagatelle in comparison to the amount they pay to the three thousand inefficient, headless, brainless county governments. Herbert Quick said, "County government came by chance. It grew up when things were different. It does not work now, except badly. A county is a corporation. No business corporation could avoid prompt bankruptcy if organized as are our counties."

Herbert Quick goes on to bring his indictment against county government: "The voters (and this means for the most part the farmers) are the stockholders in county government. The law lays on them the impossible task of finding good managers, bookkeepers and workmen through the clumsy device of general elections. The law, in this case, is a crazy law—a fool law. The thing can't be done that way. The officers' titles vary from State to State, but everywhere there is one who collects taxes, one who draws checks, one who keeps the records of the county board, one who records instruments or keeps them on file, one who keeps the court's records, a surveyor or engineer, an

attorney, a sheriff to enforce the criminal law and serve papers and act as peace officer, and a county board under some name to authorize expenditures, allow bills, make appropriations, and act generally as the legislative body of the county.

"If the voters ever do elect proper men to these offices, it is by accident. All these officers but three simply work on books; and if they did not go out and try to be reëlected every two years, they could be had for bookkeeper's wages. Any competent bookkeeper could do the work better than the elected man can usually perform it."

What is the way out?

I have just been reading the reports of some small cities that are working under the commission-manager plan. By this plan the voters elect a non-partisan commission, and this commission appoints a manager, who in turn hires all other officers that are needed to do the work of the corporation called a city. Three hundred cities in the United States are now working under this plan. Here for example are the reports of a period of three years in Salina, Kansas. Each year, every department shows a balance on hand after all the work is done. The budget agreed upon at the beginning of the year has not been expended in any year. One year, out of the savings of the budget, the city manager furnished the big new Memorial building. Another year, out of the savings, there was built and maintained the splendid municipal swimming pool. This sounds almost as though it belonged in the class of "things that

never happen",—a unit of government actually having money left over, instead of showing a deficit. The Wichita report shows a larger income than necessary, and therefore an announcement that for the ensuing year both the valuation and the tax levy will be cut down. . . . Here's the report from Knoxville, Tennessee: They put a city manager on the job and at the close of one year he had run the city for $500,000 less than it cost the year before. Also, he did new things for the city that cost $200,000. In spite of this, he saved so much out of the budget that he rebated $280,000 back to the taxpayers. How would the farmers of a rural county feel, if after having paid their taxes, they would receive back, as a Christmas present, $280,000 of them which the management did not need. Did anyone ever hear of such a thing happening in a county government?

There's the case of Atchison, Kansas, where the taxes of the city of Atchison, under the manager plan, have been reduced, and at the same time balances shown in every department, while the county of Atchison, in which the city is located, cannot do the things that ought to be done and runs a regular annual deficit.

The governor of Virginia has sent two messages to his State Legislature on this subject of county management and what he has said to them will apply to the situation. He says:

"Any leakage we may have in governmental affairs is far greater in the counties than in State funds. The affairs of the county in the interim between the meet-

ings of the supervisors or commissioners are not specifically in the hands of anyone. No one individual feels definitely charged with the execution of various programs that may be outlined. I do believe we ought to work out some system in the counties along the line of the city-manager plan where there will be some responsible individual looking after the affairs of the county."

H. W. Dodds, in recounting his experience in studying county government, states he found one county in which the annual report of the commissioners read, "Receipts and expenditures for the past year just about balance, so we have not made a record of them."

Announcements are occasionally heard from prospective state legislators that they intend to introduce bills providing that counties, by a referendum vote, may establish the county manager system, so as to give the farmer the same right to good government and to save tax money, as is granted the city man. Such good intentions certainly should be encouraged. Here will be the opportunity for the farmer to quit *talking* about paying less taxes, and begin to do it. Better still, an opportunity for him to cease to be a man without a government, and become a man with the best local government on earth.

Richard S. Childs says, "If county governments once became trustworthy and capable of taking on large tasks, they would speedily become great rural municipalities, solving many of the social problems of country life and bring to rural dwellers many of the bene-

fits of modern science which cities give to their people. The county, comparable in population and in many of its problems, to the city, is a practicable working unit for real service of the kind that the city man gets. The draft of the charter should make it possible for townships, villages and cities of the third class, when it is convenient or economical to do so, to shift to the county such functions as they are willing to part with and the county willing to accept. The powers of the county should be so freely described, that the county organization under the manager could grow without running to the Legislature for a little enabling act every time an extension of service is desired.

"The county manager plan is the route by which we shall open up this dark continent of American politics, and the deep-reaching benefits of modern science, which today are administered only in the technical departments of great well-managed cities, will be carried to the towns and the open countryside by the efficient rural municipalities of tomorrow!"

CHAPTER XVI

HEALTH FOR THE NEW COMMUNITY

An example of the extension of the function of local government for the public welfare, is found in the field of public health. While for a long time we have had State boards of health and city boards of health, it is only in recent years that we have found public sentiment educated to the place where this function is exercised on a local government basis, either in the small community unit or the county unit.

A view of the progress of public opinion in the interest of the health of the people, can bring only encouragement and agreeable surprise. Twenty years ago it was not uncommon in the American city to see signs along the street and in some cases painted on the sidewalk: "Do not expectorate on the sidewalk." In this day, to decorate a city with such signs would be considered almost an insult to the pedestrians. In so brief a time the general public has been educated to practice at least this precaution in the interests of public health. While this may seem an insignificant matter, yet since a large percentage of the people are of a somewhat low grade of intelligence and since this injunction appealed directly to such a class and has met

with the great success now evident, it is of greater importance than it would seem to be on first thought.

In that former time, cities of considerable size still maintained the well or cistern and the outside open-vault toilet. Now the traveller over the country establishes a knowledge of his whereabouts in relation to a town of any size by looking for the water tank built high above the town. This stands as a useful monument to the progress that has been made in local government attention to the matter of health and sanitation. It tells the story of municipally-owned and operated water supply, and an adequate sewer system built by taxation.

Since each such water system and sewer system has required a bond issue, and ordinarily this was determined by a vote of the people, we find here another elaborate comment upon the progress which the people have made in developing public health consciousness and responsibility, and finding ways of getting action through local government.

Less than twenty years ago when a special campaign was undertaken in a western state to aid small towns in a general cleanup for the eradication of certain filth diseases, the slogan used was "Swat the Fly". An attempt was made to influence certain manufacturers to place fly swatters on the market for advertising purposes. The attempt failed, due to a lack of interest and information concerning the real significance of the slogan. Now these weapons of beneficence to man and torture to the house fly are sold all over the country,

and the advertising variety may be had for the asking. Government has also passed laws and is fairly well enforcing laws requiring the screening of foods displayed by merchants.

In an earlier day, the manager of a hotel or any public place would not have been considered courteous to the public if he had not supplied a common drinking cup and a roller towel. Now one finds on trains and in all well ordered hotels, the individual drinking cups, and individual towels. The comparison could be carried on almost indefinitely. Today we are discussing and in many places realizing public health activities such as the tuberculosis clinic, the child health clinic, the mental hygiene clinic, and the social hygiene clinic. Probably in no other line of human endeavor depending entirely upon the education of the people to the extent of getting them to spend their money, has there been such rapid progress in a like period of time.

These activities together have been commonly spoken of as "the public health movement". If it is true that a "movement" is a temporary means of getting public opinion awakened with regard to some need which has not formerly been recognized, and that with the recognition of that need the movement as such must wane and the activity itself be incorporated in one of the permanent community institutions, then the question is timely: "Which one of the institutions with which we are dealing should be responsible for the public health program?"

The maintenance of health of the members of the

family is partly the duty of the home, which in a voluntary way and on account of the mutual regard of members of the family, will conserve this value as it conserves all other worth-while values. The teaching of duties with regard to public health conservation may be considered also a function of the church, just as it is for that institution to inculcate consciousness of all duties of human brotherhood. To give information in physical and social hygiene, in the field of fact, is the function of the school. Business comes in for its duty and reward in terms of furnishing the needed supplies.

The responsibility for the public health rests more especially upon government as such. Government has here both a duty and a responsibility; a duty to maintain in this regard as in other regards, the welfare of the people; and a responsibility due to the absolute necessity of a strong citizenship to support government itself. The revelations brought out in the World War, with regard to the low condition of fitness of men in all the nations, proved the best arguments to impress government with this fact. Just as a farmer will find it economically sound to keep a good work team in a healthful condition, so government will find it economically essential to keep citizens in a healthful condition. This may be counted as placing the matter on the lowest plane; but nevertheless it is the basis necessary upon which to build the argument. Neither does the necessity apply only or mainly to conditions of war emergency. In times of peace there is as great a need

for a citizenship physically strong and well. It is conceivable that for a war emergency special measures might be inaugurated that would help men to meet the emergency—and then all could fall back to a low condition of vitality. But the demands made by a time of peace are permanent demands, so that no sudden splurge into a stimulated condition will be effective. A continuous maintaining of health is necessary for a permanently strong nation.

Since the practice of citizenship is on a local community basis—then the maintaining of public health becomes a governmental function in the local unit. For the large city its administration is very clearly a municipal function. For the rural area no smaller unit is to be considered than that of the county. Therefore, for the greater part of the population area of the United States, the county government must assume the responsibility of the public health program.

The ideal county-government-supported health program, has come to be known as "the county health unit". It consists of 1, a full time salaried county health officer; 2, a corps of county health nurses; 3, a county hospital; and 4, a clinic.

The activities proposed are for the most part of a preventive nature. They are naturally divided into two classes: corrective and educational. Much disease is due to insanitary conditions of premises where people live. Public buildings and parks sometimes maintain conditions that make for ill-health. Inspection of drinking water, sewer or cess pool conditions, the dis-

posal of waste material, and the serving of pure food; —and the following of the inspection with corrective measures—this is one set of activities for such a governmental agency. The establishing and enforcing of quarantine in cases of epidemic diseases, and the isolation of those who have seriously infectious diseases also become duties of a corrective nature. In all of these matters there must be official authority, and a common fund upon which to draw for the expense involved. This requires nothing less than governmental authority and a fund raised by taxation.

Preventable illness is due largely if not entirely to ignorance. Therefore, in order to avoid the necessity later on of applying corrective measures which often are odious to a free people, it proves more desirable to conduct an educational program so that the people may learn how to practice that kind of personal and social hygiene that will keep them in a condition of good health. This educational program is properly of the nature of acquainting the people with the known facts with regard to health and hygiene. The emotional appeal and the coercive threat have no place in such activities. It might be expected, however, that after the educational program has proceeded to a certain point, the corrective program could gradually be withdrawn, so that there would be less and less of it necessary. It might even be hoped that the cost involved from the tax fund would after mounting to its high level due to the development of the work, remain normal for a time at that high level, and then descend due

to the fact that public opinion and public knowledge would have advanced to a degree where the people would be accustomed to live in a hygienic manner.

There is significance in terming this advocated system a "unit". During the period of the public health "movement" there have been enthusiasts for various parts of the program. Where a public health nurse has been employed and has met with some degree of success those who have furthered this phase of the work which she conducts have desired to secure other nurses. Where there has been a hospital, but no regular public health officer or corps of nurses, there has sometimes been a desire on the part of the hospital sponsors to increase its capacity, and add a clinic. The significance of the use of the word "unit" is that the full-time officer, the corps of nurses, the hospital and the clinic, form a complete equipment and personnel for an effective health program under government supervision. To greatly increase one factor without at the same time increasing the others, would be to throw the system out of balance, and destroy its unity.

The office of "county physician" is a familiar one to the people in the average American county. He is designated as such by the "court" or the "board", and may receive a small stipend for caring for the cases of wards of the county in the jail and county home, and the juvenile detention home if there is one. He also is sent to sick persons who are unable to pay doctor bills. He has the further duty of establishing quarantine, and of fumigating school houses, and dwelling

houses after contagious-diseased persons have been removed from them. Much of this service is on a fee basis. Since the physician under such a plan is giving only part time to the work, and seeking also to build up a private practice, he would be somewhat other than human if he did not neglect the county work in cases where it seemed to interfere with his private practice. There are some cases on record where an efficient physician has accepted this part-time job, as an opportunity to render service to the public. These men are to be greatly honored; and yet it is entirely unfair to them to ask them to make the sacrifice which they must be making in order to render a public service for the tax-payers. More often the job is accepted by a physician who "needs the money". Since the caring for charity patients, and the doing of police work in establishing quarantine, and the like, makes a physician unpopular among the best paying families, the man who would take this position for the small amount of money there is in it could hardly be expected to be the type of man who could handle it efficiently. The position sometimes goes to a young man who has found it difficult to establish a practice, and who finds that the noise of his creaking sign will not satisfy the grocer when the bills come due; or to an old man who has not made sufficient provision for the "rainy day" of old age. In either case, the tax-payer is playing into the hands of inefficiency.

A full-time public health officer is a professional public servant, hired for a certain job and for that

only. Whether or not he is retained in the position will depend quite entirely on his efficiency in maintaining the public health. There are opportunities now for physicians to take post-graduate courses for public health work, and the position has become thoroughly standardized. Salary budgets have been established, and where a county employs such an official and pays him out of the county treasury he stands in the same position as does the highway engineer or any other public official who is appointed because of his specialized training for the position.

Public health nurses employed on the county health unit basis, are for the most part "educators". Bedside nursing occupies the smallest percentage of their time. They convey to the people that kind of information that will maintain the public health, and moving about over the county they become assistants to the public health officer in keeping him informed as to the health needs of the people. They are present for any emergencies that develop in cases of contagion which becomes epidemic.

In this modern day people have for the most part gotten over the aversion which some formerly felt toward a hospital. Many persons used to suppose that when a trained nurse was called for it was proof that the case of the patient was almost hopeless, and that if one went to a hospital it was a last effort to save his life. Now we are coming to understand that there is scientific and specialized knowledge about caring for the sick, just as there is about building roads and concrete

bridges. Directors of hospitals have had that conception of ethics which has prevented them from advertising, otherwise the people probably would have known long before this time that it is better for a sick person to be cared for at a place regularly equipped for that service. Even yet among country people there is a reticence toward taking confinement cases to a hospital, and the ill-equipped home is trusted for that most trying circumstance of child-birth. But even this reticence is passing away, and hospitals report that country women as well as city women are in increasing numbers of cases, depending upon this specialized place for performing the necessary functions incident to such an experience. Hospitals for the most part are not paying investments. If the attempt is made to have them become commercially profitable, it is at the expense of the care and comfort of the patients. There is usually a subsidy of some kind, either on a memorial basis, or a foundation fund, or on the support of an industrial corporation. In many sections it has risen into the public consciousness that the subsidy would best be shared in by the coöperative method of taxation through county government. Then all the people share the burden of an institution through which all the people receive service.

The present stage of civilization would seem to warrant the assumption of a free clinic, supported at public expense. Any one who is afflicted, or who thinks he is afflicted in any way, surely should have the opportunity to go to a place where a specialist with proper

equipment and assistants, can make thorough examination, diagnosis, and give proper advice as to treatment. If clinics were maintained at such frequent intervals as would be provided from county to county, many malignant cases of infectious diseases would be apprehended in their incipiency, and much disaster would be prevented to society at large.

There is sometimes protest against a system of this kind, on the grounds that it allows government interference in private affairs. There is also some objection from certain quarters, on the basis of religious views toward health. However, one finds no case on records where through a claim of personal freedom or because of religious holdings, a farmer has refused the services of the government-employed specialist to maintain a hog cholera control district, or to stamp out the hoof and mouth disease among cattle. In the latter case property interests are involved; in the former, direct human values. For a number of years we have through government support and supervision undertaken, and with remarkable success, to preserve the health of orchard trees by protecting them against insect pests and against diseases common to them. One never hears a protest based upon the claim that this is too great an extension of governmental functions. In maintaining quarantine against both plant and animal diseases, it is recognized that the individual is quite powerless, that there is no independent organization of individuals that would be sufficiently permanent or sufficiently authoritative to push this program

through to success, and that the government is the proper agency to operate in this field.

This other question presents itself: "How broad an interpretation shall we give to the term, 'public health service'?" The maintenance of health is dependent upon more than sanitation and hygiene as those terms are ordinarily used. It goes much further than the establishing and enforcing of quarantine in time of epidemic disease. It requires a proper amount of recreational exercise and a knowledge and practice of adequate diet. This extends it very far into the general field of public welfare. It has been proposed, and in some states has been enacted into law, that the county be permitted (and encouraged) to establish a Board of Public Welfare, to have supervision of the matters that have to do with personal and social well-being. A secretary of public welfare would attend to the duties of a probation officer, a truancy officer, an investigator in cases of feeble-mindedness and insanity, look after those needing poor relief, and in all other ways function for the county government in dealing with problems which impose duties upon society. It must be evident to even the casual observer that only a slightly broadened interpretation of the public health field would extend it over most of this ground. Duplication of machinery, resulting in a double tax burden, with agencies crowding each other in the field, would eventually be repudiated by the people. The writer sees no adequate reason why a county health unit could not function in all of these types of work mentioned. The

suggestion has been made that the title might be changed to "county health and welfare unit"; but it seems a more feasible plan to retain the simpler title, and extend the interpretation of the word "health".

With our new means of rapid transportation, we have an accentuation of the problems involved in quarantine, and in the proper allocating of the duty in the case of those families and individuals who move from state to state and from county to county. Aside from those whose residence is only brief in any state or county, we have that army of tourists who move entirely across the country in all directions, remaining in one community only for a night. Camp grounds, cabin camps, lodging houses, restaurants,—all of these are affected by the conditions of such travellers with regard to health and sanitation. Cities have undertaken various means of handling these new problems, but since they are the problems of transients, the favorite practice developed is that of "passing them on". This not only does not solve the problem for the individual, but actually contaminates society in a continually broadening circle. Local community authorities agree, and with some degree of sense, that the human problems of other communities should not be imposed upon them. Doubtless it is true that if such authorities should become lenient and begin to care for the sick and afflicted who come among them, such an area would become a Mecca for this class.

Those who have borne the responsibilities for maintaining public health agree upon an ideal national pro-

gram for the work. Their proposal is that the federal government, the state and the county share in the expense, the responsibility and the service.

The argument is that since the maintaining of health is essential to the best citizenship, and since citizenship is in the nation and for national welfare, it is the duty and the privilege of the national government to exert efforts to maintain public health. But except where the problem involved inter-state relations, for the federal government to exercise actual restrictive and administrative powers would be a violation of states rights. Therefore the federal government would need to appropriate the funds to the states wishing to accept such aid, and on terms which would be considered adequate to receive it. At the seat of government at Washington we already have the United States Public Health Service, so that the federal function could be performed without the setting up of any new machinery. Each state has its State Board of Health, ready to administer the coöperative fund from the standpoint of the state. But health work must function locally, where people live. This requires in the working of the coöperative plan suggested that a County Public Health Board function in an administrative way through the personnel and equipment of a county health unit. Those counties availing themselves of the plan would appropriate also their full share of the necessary funds, since the actual and direct service of the system would be to the people of that county.

CHAPTER XVII

WAYS IN WHICH NEW COMMUNITY FACTORS CONDITION THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SCHOOL

EDUCATION and civilization are companion processes; they have a mutual relationship of cause and effect in social evolution. One of the outstanding differences between animals and humans is found at this point. The former do not conduct any educational processes worthy of the name, and therefore do not develop from one culture-stage to another. Whatever education they are able to acquire must be, with great patience and labor, imposed upon them by those of a higher order; neither can this process be initiated, and then trusted to be transmitted by those who have received it, to the next generation of animals. The offspring must be trained again by those of the superior human breed.

Even among primitive people the idea has been grasped that the individual human entering life and progressing in it must have transmitted to him the accumulated knowledge and technique of former generations. This seems not to be primarily in the interest of the individual, but to the end that the whole group may make regular and continuous advance. This would seem to be almost worthy of classification as a

social instinct. In the ruins of the cliff dwellers in the southwestern part of the United States one can at certain places trace the evolution of cultures, evidencing that no knowledge or achievement was lost, but that each took its place as a step toward further development.

It is commonly averred that the school as an institution is "new". In certain phases of its organization and support this may be true—but certainly it is difficult if not impossible to find the origin of the conviction that children must be led into knowledge that has been the possession of parents. Furthermore, even in primitive times this process of education was carried on with a certain degree of system. One finds among the cliff dwellers, for example, the time when turkey feathers began to be woven in the fiber of the yucca plant to make a finer cloth than had formerly been possible. From that time on to the end of the cliff-dwelling existence of these people the art of making turkey feather cloth was never lost. Again, one can find the stage at which these people began to weave cotton in with the fiber of the yucca plant, indicating that commercial intercourse was set up between the cliff dwellers and the tribes farther to the south. From that time on the technique of yucca-cotton weaving did not disappear. Basket-making can be traced through many generations from simpler forms of weaving and ornamentation to more complex forms. In their ceramic art these people improved by regular stages, as shown by the finding of crudely shaped, undecorated pieces

of pottery and later on the more symmetrically shaped pottery with more intricate, highly-colored, artistic design. The women instructed the girls in the art of weaving, basket-making, and pottery manufacture. The mores seemed to have demanded that *all* girls in the tribe take this instruction and learn to excel in artistic production.

On the Mesa Verde the various cliff communities are distinguished by the presence of the "kiva". In one cliff community there are some twenty of these ceremonial chambers. The kiva is a circular room usually built below the surface of the cavern floor. It is so well known that each kiva would accommodate a certain number for the purposes for which it was designed that the population of a cavern community a thousand years ago can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy by counting the number of kivas that existed at that time. In the time of the year that corresponds to our month of February, the young men of the community were required to go into the kiva each day and be taught by the older men. Here instruction was given to them in all matters of ceremonialism, magic, personal living—and all of those other things that the older people believed would best equip youth for successful achievement. No young man in the adolescent period was exempted from this requirement.

The examples briefly sketched above are sufficient evidence to show that primitive people believed in and practiced the education of children, and apparently for the purpose of passing on the accumulated culture of

the past, and adapting it to the necessary achievement of the present. Those of the new generation make new discoveries, add these to the general fund of knowledge which is handed on to still another generation. In this way the educational process adds to culture, and culture adds to the educational process.

The test as to the efficiency of a system of education would then be considered this: To what extent does it effectively equip the individual with the accumulated knowledge of the people who are in his background, and the ability to use that knowledge effectively in his own time and place. Under conditions of separateness and isolation of tribes or nations, systems of education and culture must necessarily differ greatly.

Among our American pioneers it was necessary that certain knowledge should be acquired, in order that the new citizen could coöperate in maintaining and developing the culture of his time and place. Our Puritan fathers in New England believed that eternal salvation was the great objective of life; that the way to reach this goal was found only in the Bible; and that it was therefore primarily essential that all people should learn in early years to read the Bible. To this end schools were established in which people might learn to read. The American school originated in a *reading* school. Without adequate means of transportation and communication such as we have today, the next essential was that of writing. In order to achieve the minimum of economic success one must have at least a rudimentary knowledge of calculation with figures; therefore

arithmetic. "Readin', ritin', and 'rithmetic" became therefore the proverbial "three R's". This has been termed the three-legged stool of the early American school.

We often laugh at this kind of "reading, writing and arithmetic, taught to the rule of a hickory stick"—but one must have a sympathetic admiration for pioneers who would see to it that this much, at least, of the knowledge that made for civilization in their time should not be lost, but transmitted to the next generation. Might we deduce from this background that the subject matter of education for children should be that which will put them in possession of that amount of past wisdom and that knowledge of its application to the present which enable them to excell in group achievement in their own time and place?

Our contention has been thus far that the conditions of the modern time have quite entirely changed. If this is true, then from this standpoint we need to challenge our entire public school system. In this field specialists in education are far in advance of the people generally. This statement does not include as "specialists" all school teachers by any means. Specialists in the field well know that the only decent purpose of elementary education is to train the child for economic and social efficiency. There need be no controversy here between so-called "cultural" education and so-called "practical" education. Where such controversy has prevailed it has been due to a lack of understanding of the true meaning of the words "cultural" and "prac-

tical". If the word "culture" in its technical sense is understood to connote the aggregate of beliefs, language, arts,—and all other practices of a given people in a definite time and place, then that man may be said to be most highly cultured who best fits into his time and place due to his acquirement of all this personal equipment. A man so cultured is doubtless the truly "practical" man. Or, to reverse the matter, the man who has the most useable fund of knowledge in his own contemporary group may be looked upon as the most highly "cultured". When "cultural" education is looked upon as that type which makes a man useless, and "practical" education is looked upon as that type which makes a man uncultured,—then nothing can be said in favor of either.

The school, like every great and fundamental institution of society, tends to become fixed and established in a certain worn track. There is grave danger that it may at any given time be missing its function of training the new generation to achieve amidst those conditions in which the new generation finds itself. Recently, our schools have been filled with teachers who taught the textbook but did not teach the children. The process has been, to entirely too great an extent, an unloading upon the children of the exact subject matter which their elders have had unloaded upon them and by the same exact methods—this without practical application to modern conditions. Now if education is to become a process of retaining *all* the subject matter of the past, in the form in which the past presented

it—and the addition to this of the knowledge attained in the present time—then it must be clear that this accumulation of the mere form of subject matter will become so voluminous that no one could master it by any learning process carried on through his entire lifetime. Obviously, we need some Great Commission to search into the form which the subject matter of education has taken in the past, winnow out that which has survival value because of its utility, and present it in brief and simplified form. Then we need educators who can apply this knowledge to the needs of the present time and place. I believe that by such a process the present thirteen years of schooling, from the kindergarten through high school, could easily be reduced to ten years, and that the college curriculum of four years could easily be reduced to three years. It may be that young men and young women would as well be getting into the active affairs of life and learning by *doing* at about the time at which they are now starting into the rah-rah period of college life. Since the tendency in the professions and in industry is to put men aside on pensions at from fifty-five to sixty years of age, it might be considered desirable for them to be permitted to add a few years of useful achievement near the other end of life's span. This would also go far to solve some of the personal and social problems of youth whose marriage is now long delayed beyond the time of the natural mating period, and who are thus required to live unnatural and abnormal lives during their most impressionable years. Furthermore, anyone who

deals with college students must realize that their minds become satiated by the mere process of being overstuffed with material which is receiving no outlet in useful expression.

Statistics show that a very large percentage of our people never go beyond the eighth grade of our present school system. Very evidently, then, since this is the fact that we are facing, we will need to so adjust the subject matter and method of our common school system that men and women will be able to acquire, in our elementary schools, the essentials of our racial experience and the ability to apply it.

I am only maintaining here that to be true to any tenable theory of education we must continually adjust the system to meet new conditions. Since in the past few years nearly all conditions have become new, we evidently face the necessity of quite a complete revision of the whole system of education, if we are to be true to this theory. If we do not make these necessary changes we will find ourselves with a system of education that *unfits* youth for life rather than one that fits them for life. We will come upon a time when those who have not been educated in the school but who have received their education through the real experiences of real life will be the truly educated persons. Perhaps the difficulties that are being encountered in some quarters to secure sufficient money from the taxpayers adequately to support the present school system are due to a sort of blind and dumb sense of the possibility that the school is becoming less and less useful in pre-

paring people to achieve economic and social success. Therefore, why should those who have achieved a certain amount of such success make any sacrifice to support an institution which is not rightly equipping youth to carry on in such a field? I do not mean that such a view is fully justified; but that to the extent that the school fails to adjust itself to the new conditions making for success in life—to that extent the public will refuse to support it.

Possibly it was a dire day for us when we "standardized" education. Since we proposed to compel every child to go to school, and since families began to move from one state to another, it seemed to be desirable, if indeed not necessary, that a child be able to fit into a graded system no matter where the school might be located. We have even been able to decide, according to the laws of probability and chance worked out with the abused "curve of probability", at about what age children anywhere in the United States ought to fit into a certain grade. Of course we are willing to grant such exceptions as Aggasiz who testifies that he preferred to go hunting and fishing rather than go to school—and that he often played hookey from school in order to enjoy these pursuits. Of course he became in his time the greatest living natural scientist—which he could not have become if he had not played hookey from the school room and gone hunting and fishing out where natural things lived. Or, there is Darwin, who found no pleasure in the irksomeness of the system of education, took passage on the good ship "Beagle" and

through his study of organic life in all parts of the world developed the theory of biological evolution upon which all our science is now based. Nevertheless, in our lock-step time we must "standardize" education. Is this not to assume not only that all individuals are alike but that all times and places are alike in which individuals are expected to achieve? If all things have been made new in this new age, then the standardized education of the past must very evidently be discarded. If it is charged that such a statement is revolutionary, then my answer must be that the times themselves have become revolutionary. What other than revolutionary are the automobile, the paved road, the airplane, the radio, and all the other before-unheard-of things that have come into the lives of the youth today?

In the ancient Greek school the educator collected the children from their homes and took them about the streets of Athens, teaching them, as they journeyed, the meaning of the phenomena of which they were a part. This was community education. Now it would be just like some educator of modern times who is an exponent of cultural education to find out *what* this ancient Greek educator taught these children and demand that we teach them the same thing today. The mere fact that this is not Athens or 1000 B.C. would supposedly not make any impression upon his cultured mind. One would think that it might occur to him, however, that the process of education might still be to lead the children about in their own community and interpret to them today the phenomena of which they are a part.

Why keep the children in the school room, learning the history of the Appian way, when with modern high-powered machinery, through the coöperation of the government and the state a great national highway is being paved across the countryside just beyond the town? While instructing children in the dignity and integrity of the sessions of the first Continental Congress, it might be well to take them over to the court-house and see how democracy is working out there from the standpoint of dignity and integrity. If we are to introduce economics into the high school it might be well to pay less attention to some of its so-called "laws" and "theories" and to take the boys and girls to business offices and retail stores and find out to what extent business in our own community is progressing according to sound economics. Possibly they could learn significant lessons by studying the cases in which men fail in their own communities by not engaging in sound economic practices. In some way, the business of life must be hitched up with the process of education; and life is really lived only in the local community. We must cease taking the child out of the community process in order to put him into the school process. No wonder that the charge is made in some quarters that modern youth with difficulty adjust themselves to the demands of practical and sensible living. We take them out of *life,* and put them into *school* during just those impressionable years when they ought to be learning to live by *living.* By this act we have made the school the most artificial, abnormal, unnatural place in which an individual ever finds himself in a whole life-

time; whereas the process of education should be entirely natural and normal, running parallel with life experience.

It may be argued that to educate children in terms of the local community will be to narrow them and unfit them for successful achievement in other communities. It is conceivable that some such danger might arise. If at Gary, Indiana, the school child were taught nothing except the type of knowledge growing out of experience in the steel works, then conceivably he would not be a good farmer if later in life he would go out into the agricultural area. However, he could be taught life in terms of Gary in such a way that he would forever realise that his own personal life and that of the community are inseparably joined. He could learn by practice in local community terms, that the success of the life of the individual is dependent upon the coöperation of individuals who compose the community. Again, it is likely that the child who is born and reared in an agricultural community and comes to understand, through participation, the value of agricultural coöperation, will find little difficulty in adapting himself to labor union membership if later in life his activities are transferred to an industrial community. Roosevelt, the New York politician, seemed to make a very successful rancher in Dakota, and Will Rogers, the cowboy, seems to be able to handle himself on Broadway. Achievement in any local situation might be expected to teach one *how to achieve* even though the situation should be changed.

One who studies chemistry, aspiring to be an indus-

trial chemist, performs his experiments in the laboratory. The laboratory may be far away from the location of any industry, yet he learns the reaction of chemical elements under varied conditions, and is able to apply that knowledge when he comes into activity in his chosen calling. Just so the community is a laboratory which the school should use in teaching boys and girls how to live victoriously. The laboratory is new. It is inhabited with new people who have new ideals. It is filled with new equipment and new machinery. New processes are going on everywhere. There is a great advantage in the fact that the entire set-up that the school may use as a laboratory is exactly the same set-up in which the child later must live and achieve.

CHAPTER XVIII

ATTEMPTS TO SUPPLEMENT SCHOOL WORK WITH COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES OF AN EDUCATIONAL NATURE

Boys' and Girls' Club movements of various kinds may be considered as evidences constituting a charge against the school, that it is not completely educating boys and girls. If the school had been achieving its purpose, why should any person ever have thought of and developed a system of Scout education? To be able to coördinate mind and eye and hand in doing hundreds of little things that go to make up the necessary activities of daily life; to get qualities of endurance and to study nature in hikes to the farthest corners of the community; to learn comradeship by actually being comrades in a relationship the success of which quite entirely depends upon the *practice* of comradeship—these are certainly worthwhile in an educational process.

The same may be said of the organized activities of the Camp-Fire Girls. Yet these boys and girls who are Scouts and Camp-Fire Girls are also school children. We must either admit this type of work into the school system as such and pay for it from the tax funds; or we must grant that there are certain types of very necessary educational work that cannot be done

by the organized school, and that the school must provide ample leisure time for the boy and girl to engage in these extra-curricular activities. This time must not be given grudgingly by the school, but cheerfully, with the recognition that it is contributing to the education of youth.

Exemplifying such extra-curricular educational activities for boys and girls, we have in the agricultural area what have come to be known as the 4-H Clubs. Their progress and their activity in any given state may be considered typical of this new movement to adjust an educational process to the kind of lives that modern boys and girls must live. A very large amount, if not the major portion, of rural education is being carried on apart from the hours spent in following the regular curriculum administered by the city girl who presides over the destinies of the children in the little country schoolhouse. This enterprise is being supported in part by federal and state funds, augmented by gifts from corporations and private individuals who believe in this truly American system of rural education.

Those who are familiar with the work of the 4-H Clubs in the United States need be given no further information concerning the program of work carried on by these organizations throughout the country; but even these may awake with surprise to the fact that we have developed during the past fourteen years a federal—and state—subsidized system of education for the rural boys and girls, supplementing the work of the rural school. In fact, those who participate in

receiving education according to this new system are afforded opportunities more extensive than any which are granted to city boys and girls.

In the city schools we have become very proud of our system of vocational training. Elaborate laboratories and shops have been built and equipped, in which boys and girls learn, by doing, how to succeed in the stern affairs of life. There once were those who deplored this substitution of "practical" education for "cultural" education, failing to realize that real culture consists in the ability to adjust one's self most completely and successfully to the social order so as to get the most out of life and to contribute the most to the well-being of others.

Laboratories and shops are expensive affairs, and it is inconceivable that they could be built and equipped at every country school building. Then, presto—rural education must be content to forego the opportunities which they afford. We have said, "The country school is inefficient; go to the city, young man, and secure a real education." That the farm community could see itself being used as a laboratory ready-made-to-order by the Almighty Himself, has occurred to only a few professional schoolmen.

The time has come definitely to recognize boys' and girls' club work as a part of the rural educational system. This is hinted in a report made by the United States Department of Agriculture, in which is the statement, "Club work is learning by doing. It is in accord with the theory that the large majority of human beings

learn primarily by observation and the apprenticeship method." In this statement about club work is expounded the accepted modern theory of education. We are dealing, then, not with a mere organization movement, but with a fundamentally sound educational institution.

The report goes on to declare: "Boys' and girls' club work is voluntary, centering around living things like growing plants or animals, or concerned with the active processes of home making, farm accounting, or other matters related directly to the daily life of the farm and the farm home."

It has been a favorite practice of late years for Americans to go to Denmark to study the folk schools of that nation, and to come back enthusiastic with plans to duplicate these foreign institutions within buildings on our own soil. It may safely be predicted that in a few years Denmark and other foreign nations will be sending representatives to the United States to study the marvelous out-of-doors school which is being developed by the rural people themselves with the assistance of their federal and state governments. Perhaps when we go abroad to find perfection, it is another case of having been "too near to the forest to see the trees." Four-H Club work has enrolled in it some six hundred thousand rural boys and girls in the United States, organized into nearly fifty thousand separate clubs. These "classes" (to speak in school terms) have as their responsible supervisors two thousand three hundred county agricultural agents, and more than one

hundred and forty county club agents. These are in turn under the supervision of officers at the state agricultural colleges.

It may be true in some sections that our rural schools are taught by persons who do not have very high educational standing. But when we consider the club work as functioning for education, and these workers as "teachers", we discover that here in America we have this large army of rural teachers in club work, chosen from the ranks of college graduates.

Many of the county agents and home demonstration agents who supervise this work have even advanced in educational pursuits to the receipt of the master's degree, showing at least one year of training beyond the college course. Some of the state supervisors at the college headquarters have gone three years beyond college graduation and carry the doctor's degree.

Why then complain further of inefficient teachers of our American rural youth? Rather we are developing a supplementary educational system for our rural youth under the direction of leaders more highly trained than are those furnished as teachers by any other nation under the sun!

Another feature of this educational system that is worthy of new attention is the work being done in the training of local lay leaders. Where in the cities can be found groups of adults who will meet regularly under trained leadership to learn the lessons which they are to transmit to the youth who will be under their immediate charge? Yet groups of farm women and farm

men are meeting in this way all over the United States, and since they themselves are in training, they are engaging in the greatest adult education movement known to modern times.

What does it mean to have a state like Kansas with 10,500 country boys and girls enrolled in this new type of school? Or to have an annual "Round-Up" at the Agricultural College, with an attendance on the college campus of 1,300 rural youth?

An accounting of the money expended by the government and state and private agencies for this work, shows that about one million dollars supports this new rural institution, scattered over the entire nation. Never, in any educational system, has so much service with such adequate results been secured with so little expenditure of money.

That this new rural education has in it a physical culture factor, is attested by quotations from a letter written by a Kansas farm youth to Professor M. H. Coe, state leader of 4-H Clubs. He was an underdeveloped lad, who found education, health, and success in this out-of-door school.

"When I was 17 years old, I was only five feet high, weighed 70 pounds; and had a chest measurement of 25 inches. I did not know what it was to feel real well, and I could not talk to a stranger. I had not been able to go to school for seven years; the flu robbed me of my health and schooling. . . . I got three purebred Chester White gilts, and took the best care I could of them."

This lad goes on to relate his experiences during a three-year period of ups and downs in the hog business, and in raising sheep—all in connection with 4-H Club work. The boy who was afraid of strangers is found taking his stock to two state fairs, and to the county fair, winning prizes for the animals and recognition for himself. At one of the state fairs he sold seven hogs which he had raised, and adds: "I bought a roadster. I guess that this was good business and I enjoyed the trip home in my own car."

At one place in his report, this boy, who had started in club work with three pigs, says: "At the end of the second year of club work I had on hand thirty head of hogs and pigs, and had sold twenty-three head. I had received a lot of experience and had become so absorbed in the project that I hardly thought about myself, but I realized that I was gaining, so I just kept on giving myself the same kind of treatment I gave the hogs—I mean plenty of exercise, fresh air, and sunshine, and the proper kind of food and drink."

At the end of the three years' experience with himself and his hogs, he reports that aside from making considerable money on sales, he won $315.50 in prizes. He exultantly adds:

"I am now 5 feet 9½ inches tall and weigh 130 pounds. My chest measures 30 inches. But to me the best part of it all is that I am well and ready to tackle any job I find to do."

This boy recognized that the main advantage was not in his success with hogs and sheep, but in the

development of himself. He writes: "I want to say that the 4-H Club gets the credit for this change in me. It furnished the incentive for me to fight my way back to health. I could not take care of my pigs when I was sick, so I had to keep well."

Not such a bad system of education! It has at least one marvelous advantage—*it works!*

It is no longer necessary for the farm boy and girl in a state like Kansas to go away from home for education in music appreciation. This has been brought about by the setting aside of certain hours in which radio station KSAC at the Agricultural College is used for the members of the 4-H Clubs in training for their music appreciation contests. Since there are ten thousand, five hundred club members in rural homes scattered all over the State, this is doubtless the biggest school of music in the world.

Since home-making and community building are objectives of the 4-H Club educational system, music training has its part in the curriculum of activities. Jazz may be winning its devotees in the American city, but classical and cultural music are prevailing along the countryside. It may be that the jar and noise of city life are more suggestive of ragtime and that the beauties and quietude of nature lend themselves especially to appreciation of the finer musical productions.

Music appreciation contests are conducted in several of the states, the final contest being staged and prizes given at the time of the 4-H Club Round-Up, annually

at the Agricultural College. Kansas 4-H Club members have the advantage of a powerful radio sending station at their disposal, and three evenings in the week, about supper time, the boys and girls hear in their own homes the pieces of music that are to be studied in preparing for the contest.

Professor M. H. Coe, in charge of this work, gives great credit to this phase of the curriculum. He says that it helps give fine tone to the entire movement. He calls attention to the fact that there is practically no rowdyism around the college at the time of the Round-Up when thirteen hundred of the boys and girls eat, sleep and live there for a week,—and he feels that much of the commendable restraint is due to the cultural influence of the type of music studied. The list of twenty-five numbers for the year includes productions by such masters as Verdi, Strauss, Rubinstein, Grieg, Mendelssohn, Schubert and Beethoven.

Instructions are given to each member, both by mail and over the radio, telling the story of each masterpiece. Here is a sample of such a story:

"Morning", (Peer Gynt Suite)
Grieg, Norwegian.

"The boy, Peer, leaves his home in Norway to search for adventure out in the world. After wandering about he goes to Egypt where he is awakened at daybreak before the statue of Memnon. The story is that the statue sings as the first rays of the sun fall upon the sleeping world. The music is expressive of the fresh-

ness of morning with the awakening of all things of Nature and of Peer himself."

This description precedes the rendition of "Morning" from the broadcasting station, for the more than ten thousand boys and girls who are club members. Can you find, in relation to the whole population, a like percentage of city school children who are organized for receiving this type of cultural education three times a week during the entire year? Yet many are deploring the lack of "music in the rural schools". Is it not as much a part of rural education as if it were cramped into the four walls of a rural school house?

Mary Bellmer, a seventeen-year-old farm girl, from Olpe, Kansas, writes to the leader: "I listen to all the music appreciation programs when it is possible for me to do so and enjoy them very much. I have found them to be very educational along musical lines. Aside from our learning to appreciate music, it teaches us how to listen and what to listen for in the various selections played. Some of my favorite selections are: 'Stars and Stripes Forever' by Sousa, 'Song of the Volga Boatmen', a Russian folk song, 'La Paloma' by Yradier, and 'Barcarolle' by Offenbach. I have three brothers who play various musical instruments and I myself play the piano, so naturally music is one of the most discussed topics in our home. Other members of the family listen to these radio music appreciation programs and quite often the various selections played have become topics of our conversation."

A boy writes: "We are organizing our local the tenth of this month and intend to spend considerable time on music appreciation. We want to have all the information obtainable, such as names of composers, time, circumstances, place, the meaning to be conveyed to the listener—and even something about the personality of the composer, for this might help us to enjoy the selection more."

Let it be noted also that this boy is equally interested in the pig club and finds that pigs and music are not incongruous.

The Kansas State Bankers Association helps to pay some of the cost of this new type of rural education, represented in the 4-H club work. Recently the state secretary, W. W. Bowman, said in a personal letter to the author: "Aside from the general objective of the work, there is one phase that interests us immensely. In these days we are emphasizing—I will not say overemphasizing—what is called the *practical* in education and development. In this realm of the practical, hard-headed business men are prone to think that all the economic values are comprehended. But long experience and observation have taught thinking men that the fine arts—music, poetry and beauty as expressed in all that is cultural and refining—have a real economic value, not so much for what it may bring in dollars and cents on the market but for what it makes of one whose mind and heart is attuned to finer things.

"It enriches life not only by sweetening but by strengthening. I would not place one of the arts above

the other beyond saying that perhaps music enriches and inspires and spiritualizes the individual, the home and all society, beyond all other refining influences known to the arts. I am happy to bring this testimonial out of a busy practical life in the realm of banking."

CHAPTER XIX

ADULT EDUCATION

Movements for the extension of education beyond the childhood years have developed in recent times under various names. Night schools as formerly inaugurated were in the main for the purpose of accommodating those individuals who, for one reason or another, had not the opportunity to secure in early youth the training given in the grade schools. They represent a sort of attempt to make up to the individual in later life something that he should have had in childhood and which, either through his own negligence or otherwise, he had not received. With this conception one could "finish" night school just as a child could "finish" grade school. It was assumed that a certain amount of education is rather a minimum requirement for successful living. Going far beyond this conception, correspondence schools were established to give both general and technical training of a type not offered in the grade school. Here the initiative was entirely left to the individual, and it was usually understood that he would enroll with the correspondence school in order that he might equip himself better to hold a certain position and to secure for himself larger income.

The Federal Vocational Education Act was a recog-

nition of the need of training the individual even beyond the subject matter usually provided in the elementary school. The fact that the Federal Government by this act appropriated money to the States which should offset the appropriation; and that this coöperative fund in turn should be supplemented by funds from the local community seems to indicate that we are arriving at the conclusion that it is the duty of government not only to educate prospective citizens in childhood for the good of the state, but to continue to educate beyond the years of childhood, for economic and social efficiency.

Another very significant fact concerning this Act is that it provides for the organization of such adult school activities *in the local community.* While we do not have Federal support for elementary schools and high schools as such, we do in reality have Federal aid for the community education of persons in secondary schools who will follow certain curricula, and of adults outside of these schools who will train for the objectives sought.

From an entirely different angle has arisen a new type of adult education. This is usually spoken of as "workingmen's education". Its inception has been from the standpoint of organized labor, and its purpose has been a training of the workers in order that they might be more effective in securing recognition of the status and rights of the labor group. The courses presented have not been generally standardized, but have included general history, the history of labor organization, economics, sociology, English, labor journalism, public

speech and debate—and any like studies that would add to the proficiency of the labor union member as a leader of his group.

Industrial corporations have introduced adult education in various forms. While some of the work offered is largely technical in the field of skilled activities in which the employee may engage, in other cases the plant school has offered to provide any courses of instruction that any group of workers may desire.

Encouragement has been given to adult study of a systematic nature by certain commercial companies which publish source books or encyclopedias, and organize in each case a course of study based upon the volumes which provide information. While this has the appearance of being influenced largely by the desire to sell the books, yet the very fact that the device of the study outline is used by the salesman is a recognition of the growing interest and belief in adult education.

Many universities in large cities have developed curricula, some of them leading to regular scholastic degrees, the classes meeting at such times and places as will best meet the convenience of the leisure period of employed persons. A university in an eastern state announces that it has a larger enrollment of such groups from industrial plants than it has of those who are in residence on the campus.

Perhaps the most extensive system of adult education ever inaugurated in any nation is that which was made possible by passage of the Smith-Lever Act by the United States Congress in 1913. This act pro-

vided for "demonstration work in agriculture, and home economics". As the plan was worked out, it involves the maintenance of a considerable number of specialists on the extension staff of the land-grant college, an extension director of each county, and such a standardization of the work that there may be maintained the right relationship to make the work of the county extension director and the specialists properly coöperative. Persons who are advocates of adult education often do not include agricultural extension work as belonging to the movement for adult education. This may be due to the fact that they have not informed themselves as to the real nature of this work, or that, since their offices have been located in city skyscrapers, they have not even known of the existence of the work of the extension departments of the colleges of agriculture and mechanical arts. One may read voluminous reports of the progress of adult education in the United States without finding any reference whatever to extension education in agriculture and other subjects that have to do with home making and community building.

The significance of all of these movements for adult education except the one represented by the correspondence school, is that they project an organized system of education into the local community situation. This is especially important in the case of the work carried on by the land grant college.

This plan of adult education for rural people, as it actually works out in practice, is one of the very few

instances in which a national movement functions in the community where the people live. By the terms of the Smith-Lever Act, funds were appropriated by the Federal Government *to the states.* The amount available to any State is estimated on a basis of the ratio of the farm population of that state to the whole farm population of the nation. The securing of the money by any State is conditioned upon that State through its own legislative body appropriating a like sum. If the plan stopped here, it would fail of functioning according to its design and purpose. In order that it may find a unit of operation, in most states this coöperative fund becomes in turn available to any county which will meet certain requirements including the appropriation of a county fund to add to the Federal-State fund. With the money so secured a county director of extension, usually called a "county agent" is employed, whose business it is to bring about continually better farm practices. There may be also employed a woman agent, usually known as "home demonstration agent", whose business it is to apply the data secured by research in home economics to the farm home situation. Where adequate funds are available, there may be also assistants employed to make the work more effective.

Looking upon this movement in terms of adult education, it would of course come under the classification of *vocational education.* The objective is to establish better economic and social practices in the farm business and in the farm home. A significant feature of

this type of adult education is the "demonstration" method. Of course, the United States Department of Agriculture and the agricultural colleges had for a long time been publishing data showing the results of research work carried on under experimental conditions. Bulletins setting forth these results were printed in large numbers and sent out to farmers, but there was no way of checking to find out how many of them were actually read, and it was very evident that practical changes were not actually undertaken by many farm people. One common complaint was that the experiment had been tried under ideal conditions and with the State and Government financing the project; and that the same results could not be secured on the average farm.

The county agent is properly looked upon as an educator who uses the demonstration method. Suppose that it has been proven that a certain kind of wheat will mature earlier and give a uniformly larger yield than will the kind that is being generally used in the State. This fact can be stated in public places, it can be announced through bulletins; but none of these will necessarily change the farmer's practice. Therefore if we considered these methods as educational, we would need to conclude that they represented a type of education that failed in its objective. By the new method, the county agent secures a few successful farmers in a county who will agree to put out some demonstration plots of a new variety of wheat. He arranges to have these plots properly scattered over the county. Just

before time for harvest, tours are arranged for wheat producers, they go from farm to farm where the new variety of wheat is growing alongside of the old variety, and compare for themselves the difference in the stand secured. After harvest, they are interested in securing the figures showing the increased production per acre of the new variety. This educational process "takes". Thereafter the farmer could not be gotten to practice other than that method which he has seen with his own eyes to be so successful.

Again in many an area where fruit has been successfully grown in marketable quantities, the business has fallen off due to the fact that the fruit has dwindled in size and quality. Regardless of the advice given by public speakers at farmers' meetings or circulated through the farm press, or through bulletins, very little was done to actually remedy the situation until the county agent came on to the job and introduced the horticultural specialist. Here in the home community this specialist in the presence of a group of neighbors demonstrated the pruning and spraying of an orchard. By choosing for demonstration purposes orchards located in strategic parts of the area, the results obtained would lead to improved practices by others. When the bearing season came, the trees that had been sprayed and pruned would bear such healthy and luscious fruit of such superior size and quality that every orchardist in the area would thereafter diligently practice spraying and pruning.

Similar types of educational demonstration work are

being carried on over the United States through this new system of adult education which is financed for the most part by the Federal Government and the State. Soils building, live stock breeding and feeding, pest control and many other activities of like nature have their places in the extension program. Not only so, but there are projects that give instruction also in better business methods. A typical one is that of training in the keeping of farm accounts. That there was grave need of education along this line is evidenced by the fact that up to very recent years six million business plants (the farms of the United States) have been running generation after generation practically without any adequate system of book-keeping.

Of course there were a few farmers here and there who had made attempts at keeping accurate accounts of their business enterprises. These attempts, however, were such as one might expect on the part of entirely untrained persons.

I have just spent a few rich hours searching through an old account book. It was opened by a farmer in Illinois in 1866, and has more or less continuous records until 1906. It is a record of one man's business experience for forty years. Only from the date lines of entries can one gather that this farmer moved from Illinois to Kansas in the early eighties. As one reads the otherwise monotonous record he comes to feel that the story of that business life, day after day, is like the brook—it goes on forever. But the end comes, old age is evidenced in the trembling handwriting, then

others make the entries for him in more youthful hand, —and the book closes—and one hears the tolling of a bell.

This is more than an account book. It is a complete filing system. There is no order evidenced in the place or method of filing. The first page was evidently blank for a long time. Then there was an entry made there in 1895—twenty-nine years after the book was begun. On another page entries are made in 1868 and in 1882. Here is a recipe for curing hog cholera. Here is a formula for making a horse liniment. Adjacent to a page bearing a detailed account of the farm income for a year, is a recipe for making an ointment to cure rheumatism.

All through the book there are pinned to pages, with the pins long since become rusty, little slips of papers that are receipts for money paid, or memoranda of agreements with neighbors. There is even a photograph of a boy and a dog.

Yet this is an account book, and a good one for its time. It is especially good because it shows how a man without business training or experience sensed the folly of trying to transact business without records, made up a record system of his own, and doggedly through the years tried to keep it up. Misspelled words, poor construction of sentences, clumsy attempts at legal terms—all can be overlooked in consideration of the fact that this was one of the very few account books ever kept by farmers of that former day.

One of the new encouraging features of the farm

business is that farmers everywhere are now seeing the importance of keeping accurate and up-to-date account books. The income tax law has had something to do with it. How is a man to know what income tax (if any) he must pay, unless he knows what his income is. How is he to know what his income is if he has kept no records of his expenses and receipts, the amount of his capital investment, his days of labor, and all the other items that must go one side or the other of a business account?

If there was ever a time when the charge could truly be made against an agricultural college, that it gave all its efforts to the one business of increasing production, that day has happily passed. One of the leading activities of those who are engaged in agricultural extension education, is the development of good business practices in farming. A farm account book prepared in coöperation with the United States Department of Agriculture is available at a nominal cost, and an accountant specialist from the State college busies himself in encouraging that the book shall be faithfully kept, and in aiding the individual farmer in that work.

In Kansas, this movement has been furthered by the organization, in twenty counties, of the Farm Account Club. This is a neighborhood business organization of farmers, which is growing so rapidly that the Chambers of Commerce of the towns will have to hustle or the farm business men will go ahead of them in achievement due to business organization. In 1923 there were only fifty-seven coöperators in eight clubs.

In 1926 they had become organized throughout twenty counties, with two hundred and seventy-five coöperators.

The basis of the club work is the individual farm business of the member. Each buys his account book, at twenty-five cents. The members meet in a group, with an accountant present, and open their account books for the year. Each month the coöperators or members are furnished with a set of notes which can be made the subject matter for the monthly meeting. There are cases on record during 1925 in which there was such keen interest in the work that it was never necessary for the president of the club to send the members any notice of the time and place of the monthly meeting. Each member looked forward to the event with such interest that he was there at the appointed time.

At the end of the year the account books are called into the office of the county agent. An accountant from the extension force of agricultural economics at the College meets with the county agent, and each book is carefully checked up. The specialist in charge then writes a personal letter to each member, about his business for the year, making a constructive summary as shown by his own account book.

When the books have all been returned to their owners, there is convened a Summary School. This is a meeting for the purpose of checking up on the summaries. It might be thought that there would be some hard feeling generated by the criticism of methods

of doing business, but quite to the contrary there is the best of good will and kindly rivalry. In the letter that is written to the coöperator the specialist has tried with considerable success to put in the human touch, so that it makes the appeal of personal helpfulness rather than of criticism.

In the annual meeting there has been coöperation in some of the counties with the bankers associations, and in others with the luncheon clubs such as the Rotary and Kiwanis.

Rice county presents a typical experience in the progress of the movement. For the past two years there has been in that county a contest among the local clubs, to see which would complete the largest number of accurately kept account books for the entire year. The contest resulted in the turning in of six times as many books as had been received in any previous year. Also it made for renewed interest in the farm business, in the account club work, in farm bureau activities, and in all the organized farm affairs of the county.

At the final meeting to consider the summaries, there were sixty farm business men present, all eager to see the results of their year's effort in keeping accounts. The summary sheets were hung up on a chart, with each having a number but no name—and the men were asked to pick out the summaries of their own business activities. A number of men present were able to recognize, without error, their own summaries. The items on each summary included the following: 1, Acreage and yield of each crop; 2, Number of work horses,

and crop acres for each work horse; 3, Number of tractors; 4, Returns per unit of all classes of live stock, and numbers of each class; 5, Per cent of returns from live stock and from crops; 6, Amount of feed bought, etc.

An interesting feature of the discussion was the comparison of returns per unit among farms represented, and a discussion on the part of the men themselves as to the reasons for the differences shown.

In a summary meeting in another county, the same specialist made the statement that the record showed that one man had made a return of 18 cents a head on a bunch of seventy-five Buff Orpington hens—which was at least eighty-two cents under the cost of feed per head. The group engaged in a hearty laugh at the folly of that man conducting such a failing business for an entire year. One man led off in the laughter—and to his chagrin found out afterward that the summary from which the ludicrous record had been taken was his own. A little while afterward the leader of the accounting project happened to be on that man's farm, and found him reorganizing his equipment for the poultry business. At the end of the next year his record showed an income of $2.02 per individual.

In another county a member showed a return of $3.33 per head, and after studying from the summary of his account book the various items of cost and income, he declared he could beat that the next year. At the end of the next year he made a return of $6.30 an individual. In both of these cases mentioned, the farmers

gave credit to the Account Club as having been of material assistance in improving the record.

The books show results, not guesses. For comparative purposes they are invaluable. For example, in one community the records showed that one man had two hundred crop acres, twenty-two head of work horses and a tractor, while another man only ten miles away had three hundred and ninety acres, six head of horses, and no tractor. During the harvest he had hired five men with teams for nine and a half days. His record showed that he had better crops than had the man with the big bunch of horses.

One farmer was reputed to be a man of great wealth in his community. His father had left him a big farm, amply equipped with machinery and livestock. His money income was large at the end of each year. Neighbors wondered why, since he was very evidently a poor farmer and a miserable manager. The farm account book showed that he was making three per cent on his investment, had no labor return, and in other words was paying two per cent of a five per cent interest on investment which he should have been getting, for the privilege of doing farm work. Putting it another way, he was working for nothing, and losing two per cent interest on his capital. But the capital investment was so large that the three per cent income was in the aggregate larger than the income of the average farmer of the neighborhood. This man took the matter so to heart that inside of a year he had leased his farm to a good farmer, and secured a paying position

for himself in the baggage room of the Union Station at Kansas City, Missouri. He said in explanation that he had it proved to him that he was not a good enough business man to be a farmer, and was determined at least to make for the rest of his life a reasonable interest on his investment, and wages for himself.

A study of the Farm Account Clubs indicates that they are inclined to go much beyond the actual work of helping the members keep accurate account of the farm business, and to branch out into community activities. There are cases on record where projects for community improvement have been backed by the clubs, from the building of roads to the organization of a rural high school and a community church. The members begin to realize that after all the business of a community is a matter of group action, and that in the long run the making of a community a happier place in which to live, will result in better returns on the farm business.

CHAPTER XX

THE CHURCH IN THE NEW COMMUNITY

One factor that enters into the "newness" of the community is the new approach toward all public activities. We have been formerly inclined to assume that every institution had a certain function to perform; that the paid leader should do business at the institutional building; and that the people should come to the building, and expose themselves to that function. It was assumed that the function itself never changed.

The *merchant* of the former time opened up his place of business and expected the "trade" to come in. He proposed to sell his customers the things that he kept in stock, rather than to consult especially their needs and their welfare.

The old time school assumed to decide what the subject matter of education should be, entirely apart from the manifest needs or desires of the people. The teacher "taught the book" instead of "teaching the child".

It is very noticeable that this tendency has changed. The research idea is coming into our institutional life and the data resulting from a study of the people involved is being used as a basis for building a program of activity.

Religion is the most conservative of all the agencies of social control and benefit. This fact is often greatly deplored and the idea is expressed that religion should be always in the vanguard rapidly leading forward from the old into the new. But the pioneer has to suffer a great deal of punishment, make very serious mistakes in experimenting, and frequently fail. The church is so important to the welfare of humanity that it would not be well if she were inclined to run the risk incident to pioneering. The tendency therefore seems to be for the church as an institution to allow individuals or small free-lance groups to do the pioneering. After certain laboratory experiments have been made, she comes along in an apparently belated way and adopts those that have given positive results.

The church in America came with a certain gospel of salvation. Its faith and hope were "other-worldly". All humans were lost in sin, and therefore every one in a like situation with every other one. There was no use in studying the economic or social status of the people, because from the standpoint of the gospel that was being preached, they all had one status—that of sinners in the presence of an Angry God. This being the case, there was one gospel, in the acceptance of which, these sinners could find salvation culminating for all alike in another world. It was the function of the religionist to establish his house of worship (which in the main, came to be a house of preaching) and urge the people to come "to be saved".

This attitude was parallel with the ones formerly re-

ferred to on the part of the merchant and the teacher, to have, whether or no, certain goods on sale at a certain place. "Reading, writing, and arithmetic" to teach to those who cared to come and get it—and a standardized eternal gospel presented to those who would expose themselves to it. These all belong in the same category.

In the past few years something has been happening to the church in the community. Among other things, according to estimates or guesses that have been made, there are a hundred thousand abandoned churches in the United States. Casual observers, and even some who have been known as careful students of this situation, have assumed that since the church is the institution to preserve and proclaim religion, and since religion is absolutely essential to the preservation of the social order—that the abandonment of churches necessarily means the abandonment of religion with the subsequent certain downfall of the social order. Now and then we hear an ultra-radical person declare, "There may be one hundred thousand abandoned churches in America, but even if there are, we would be still better off if two hundred thousand more of them were abandoned." Another has declared, "We need not fear an *abandoned* church; it is a *prostituted* church that we must fear."

Just as some observers, when they have seen the exodus of farm people to the cities, have assumed that this was a dire portent for American farm life, so others who have witnessed closed churches, especially

in the open country, have made a like assumption. It is well for us to look into the reason for this situation, so that we may find what is the function of the church in the new community.

Under the old system, each denomination had its own particular brand of religion to promulgate. The establishing of a church was not for the purpose of spiritualizing and socializing a community but rather for the purpose of accommodating the communicants of that particular body. Of course, in England and Europe, prior to the American period, community lines and parish lines were co-extensive. It was so unthinkable that there could be more than one church in a community that dire persecution was the fate of those who would dare to dissent and start another. The early pioneers who came to our eastern shore in order that they might "worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience", brought this one-parish, one-church ideal with them. It is a well-known fact that while any given group might go about worshipping God as they saw fit, that same group was thoroughly determined that nobody else should worship God in their community by any other belief or practice than their own. When Roger Williams got a new vision and proposed a new church he had to leave the parish that had been established as a place in which people might "worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience". He had to go over into the wilderness, afterwards known as Rhode Island, and start there another parish in which the people in turn became just

as positive that none but the one church could exist there. So New England, for the most part, was a series of parishes with a church at the center of each.

Much the same situation prevailed in the South, whether the church that was instituted was Catholic or non-Catholic. Louisiana, for example, was laid out into legal units called "parishes", similar to the "counties" of other states.

It was with the trek westward that the situation arose in which two or more churches ministered to one parish. A group of Presbyterian families migrated from an eastern town to a place being exploited by a town-site company in the Middle West. Being Presbyterians, and assured that they were "foreordained" to be saved or lost, it was absolutely essential that they should have for their group a Presbyterian church and a Presbyterian preacher. A group of families from an eastern Methodist parish migrated to the same community. Being Methodists and confident that they were lost sinners, free moral agents, and all subject to salvation through the love of God, they must have their Methodist church and their Methodist preacher.

Even a few Universalist families having confidently extinguished the big bonfire, and being not willing to associate with those who still clung to the belief in eternal damnation, put their church and their preacher alongside the Presbyterian and Methodist. So with each group of families of different denominational beliefs and practices came the church into the mid-west and western area of the United States. The promoter

for the town-site company blatantly heralded the fact, "We are a city of schools and churches!" He neglected to call attention to the fact that with a limited population there was actually only one school; and that the taxpayers would probably have serious objections if any one had started another. Yet in that day, it seemed not to occur to anyone that to have several churches was just as bad for the community as it would have been to have several schools.

Remembering the difficulties of a period in which there were real meaningful controversies on doctrinal matters, one cannot blame the denominational leader of that time for finding it necessary to gather his own flock around him for the integrity of his own particular faith. Also since people were mightily impressed with the truth of any particular dogma, they were loyal in support of and attendance upon the church as a mark of their constancy to the doctrine which they had espoused. If one wished to be saved the Presbyterian way or the Methodist way, or in any one of a half-dozen ways, he had only to go to the church of his choice. Proselyting was perfectly legitimate, but it consisted in converting an individual from one set of doctrines to another, not merely in persuading him to take his membership out of one particular church group and placing it in another.

By this system the church has lately been charged with having undertaken to build itself up out of the community rather than to build the community out of the church; that it exploited the community rather than

served it. Considering the church of the pioneer day, the charge can scarcely be sustained. The denomination in the new town was in the main supported by the old home parish "back East". "Home Missions" were developed for the purpose of maintaining denominational churches "on the frontier". My own father went in 1889 as a home missionary to Wyoming, and helped to establish Congregational churches in Wyoming, Utah, Idaho and Oregon, in pioneer towns in many of which there were already churches of other denominations. He acted as pastor of one church after another thus established; and his salary of one hundred dollars a month, (a very adequate family income in those days) came quarterly in a check from Boston. At the same time like checks from New York, Boston or Philadelphia, were coming to other ministers in the same field. If there was any exploitation being carried on it was being practiced in worn-out eastern communities where the people were giving in a religious spirit from their small savings to carry the gospel into the home mission field.

The home missionary society became a clearing house, receiving gifts from eastern parishes, putting them into a common fund and disbursing them as salaries to denominational ministers further west. Since there was little wealth available for use in the pioneer community, the funds could not be raised locally for the erection of the church building. To meet this need the church building society was established as another home missionary agency to collect gifts in the

name of the denominations from already established eastern churches and use the funds for the purpose either of making a loan, or a gift, or both, to the denominational groups that had gone pioneering.

There may have been exploitation here from another source also—but an exploitation of the missionary societies and the guileless givers "back home". The exploiters were the local business men and the members of the town-site company. The latter were always ready to donate town lots to any denomination that would erect a church building and a parsonage. In a pioneer town this meant the erection of two more buildings, which made the town picture look better on the circulars sent back east to help in the sale of more lots. Also if "your church" was already established in a community you were more likely to respond favorably to the appeal to be one of the guests in the free "home-seekers' excursion". It might, indeed, be considered the bait on the hook thrown back east by the town-site company.

What could the dealers in building material and hardware, and the contractor, stone masons, carpenters, *et al* have desired more than to have some rich uncle at the sign of the three balls back east spend thousands of dollars in the local town for the erection of buildings. It was bringing entirely new money into the town and distributing it among those who very much needed it. The twelve-hundred-dollar salary of the minister went—all of it—into the coffers of the grocerymen, dry goods dealer, and other merchants. They saw

to it that their prices were high enough so that with the minister's standard of living none of this sugar plum taken from the eastern ancestral tree should get away from them. Everybody was happy.

There were many people in America who formerly were in favor of what they felt was paternalism in the form of a protective tariff to aid "infant industry"; —but who have complained that the infant has grown up and is not so seriously in need of protection. When the communities west of the Alleghanies passed into their second generation, they were in many cases more wealthy than were those back east from which missionary funds were coming. There is a natural tendency for those who are raising and administering the expenditure of funds to want to dictate even the smallest matters in the work which is being supported by those funds. Doubtless this is right, according to the doctrine that where there is responsibility there must also be vested authority. More than that, the "mother country" back east evidently began to see that the child out west was old enough to wean and would better be skirmishing for its own sustenance. Poor washerwomen didn't quite so readily let loose of "the widow's mite" for home missions in the name of Christ—in order to save money for the newly-rich of the former pioneer community; and the well-to-do of the second generation did not want to be domineered over by people back east who "did not understand".

These were some of the factors and processes that caused the denominational church to undertake to be

"self-supporting". And now began the struggle for existence, the exploitation of the local community, and the fight for the "survival of the fittest". It was no longer an attempt to win the community to my type of salvation, but rather an attempt to force the community to give financial support to my denomination. In the meantime, controversial doctrinal matters had been either forgotten or ironed out. Loyalty to a particular set of dogma lost its prestige. Diffusion of religious cultures ensued, not only in the sense of association but even through inter-marriage. You just couldn't keep the Methodist boys from loving the Presbyterian girls and raising denominationally hybrid offspring. This was a great shock to church loyalty. It is not strange if in some places people generally got the idea that the church existed in the community to demand support rather than to render service.

The financial support of the minister of a church in the average community can only be understood by tracing its historic background. The early New England church was founded at a time and place in which there was a system of barter and exchange. No one had very much money, and it was not needed. The pastor in the parish was given a good piece of land with a house a little better than was occupied by the parishioners. Since everyone raised his own foodstuff, and even the raw material for clothing, the minister also engaged in this common custom. More than that, the people felt it their duty to see that he was well cared for. In some of the early New England churches the contracts

read that the pastor should be provided with a certain amount of fuel, with provender for his larder, with a certain amount of meat at butchering time—not forgetting so many casks of rum, and of wine. In short, the pastor and his family were the best-cared-for-people in the entire parish. Above this ample living he received also some pay in money. In many cases he was the best paid man in the parish. He was the only man who had a library. He was the only man who traveled outside the community—since it was necessary for him to go to his church conferences. He was the best educated man in the parish. He had the greatest prestige.

Imagine this man transported to the pioneer town and getting into competition with from two to five other men each in charge of a denominational church. The gifts of food and other commodities ceased, and yet the tendency was to base the salary upon the *money* income that had formerly been his. Of course it was increased or he could not have lived at all; but the increase was made grudgingly. Thus it came about that a given town would have from two to five or more ministers, each with an income below the point that could maintain for him and his family a decent standard of living. These positions became very unattractive and were therefore occupied by three classes of men. The beginner who had to be tried out in his apprenticeship, found the position of poorly-paid pastor in an average community a possible stepping stone to a better-paid job in the big city. The pitiable old man, who had rendered service in the large city could eke out his lonely existence

by retiring to a town or country parish. A host of men who had not the stamina or the mental ability to finish the eighth grade in school or to make a living at any job that called for real efficiency pounced upon these poorly-paid, poorly-supervised positions as pastors of denominational churches in over-churched communities.

CHAPTER XXI

NEW COMMUNITY FACTORS THAT CONDITION THE COMING TYPE OF CHURCH

Recent years have been marked by the conduct of economic and social affairs in larger group units, and the trend of the near future seems to be farther in that direction. In the world and nation industry is giving us an example of the advantage of getting investors to participate in very large units. The Union Pacific Railway Company has approximately fifty thousand stockholders and fifty thousand employees—to some small extent the two groups being represented by the same individuals. A large corporation like the Standard Oil of New Jersey operates a refinery up to a maximum of production with a maximum of employees, and when this maximum has been reached another refinery is established. This is witnessed by the Bayway Refinery and the Bayonne refinery within a short distance of each other on the Jersey side of the Hudson. In each of these refineries the employees are not encouraged to belong to a number of organizations, but a unified Employees' Association is maintained. Evidently there is a minimum in personnel below which it is not economically and socially sound to operate and a maximum

in personnel above which it is not economically and socially sound to operate.

A big corporation maintaining a system of chain stores locates each store in the center of a given population of prospective customers. A midwestern manufacturing plant of thirty-five years' standing has recently inaugurated a system of outlet stores, and is placing such a store at the central distributing point for each two hundred thousand in the population. The sales manager for this system believes that in such a two-hundred-thousand unit will be found a sufficient number of prospects for the purchase of their commodities to occupy the attention of twenty sales demonstrators working out from a store as a distributing agency. The point is that in terms of industry and trade it is assumed that a certain public is to be served and the attempt is to organize a group with reference to the most sound economic and social way of serving that group.

In the rural area, business is being reorganized on a coöperative basis. This is especially true in the field of marketing agricultural products,—and there are some evidences that the coöperative method is gaining ground even in the field of agricultural production. It has come to be a truism that a marketing association shall draw its members from a large enough area to form both an aggregate product and an aggregate number of persons to coöperate most successfully.

Since in the fundamental things of production and distribution people are coming to participate on the

larger group basis evidently this is an outstanding mark of the new community. If we interpret this in terms of its significance to the church as an institution, it can mean only that the church which is to serve the new community must recognize the larger population unit as its field. Now the very fact that this is a *new* movement, causes it to follow that church groups and buildings are wrongly located, and exist in too great numbers in a given population area. Entirely apart from any other consideration that might cause one to argue for the elimination of certain churches and the merging of others, it seems very clear that the new community will demand a church for the larger population group, and that this will mean a discontinuance of many churches.

Leaders of farm organizations and the extension workers from colleges of agriculture, and the writers in the farm press have all been joining in a campaign to get the people of the rural community to coöperate in reasonably-sized units. If we sell the idea that such coöperation is essential to success, then the first effect upon the churches will be to weaken them, due to the fact that people who become loyal to the larger group when they work in economic activities will not be willing to retain loyalty to small ineffective groups when working in religious activities. The coöperative movement will kill the church except where the church finds some technique whereby it may join the movement in terms of its own organized activities. It might be laid down as a law that a coöperative church cannot

exist in a population of non-coöperative people; and conversely, that a non-coöperative church cannot exist in a population of coöperative people.

One of the most significant activities of recent times in the United States has been the rural church movement. Many of the larger church bodies have established national departments for the study of the problem of the rural church, and for the working out of an effective program for that institution. The Catholic Church has such an agency, as do also a number of the leading non-Catholic bodies. Regardless of differences of religious belief, ceremonies, types of organization, etc., all of the leaders of the rural church movement for the various church bodies absolutely agree upon one contention. That is, that the solution of the rural church problem is *the reëstablishment of the American parish.*

The parish was always significant in this—that all the people participated in unified church activities. Many of the ills that have overtaken the church in the average community can be traced to the breaking up of the parish. It would seem to follow that one method, if not the leading method, for the cure of these ills would be the unifying of the parish. Now I am well aware that it is much easier to declare that we must have a reëstablishment of the parish than it is to outline a method of attaining that end. However, when we consider the controversies and contentions that have marked church life in the past, we may derive some satisfaction from the fact that we have come to an

agreement on at least *one* thing. The few remaining denominational leaders who are jealous, each for his own small cause, may heckle us by saying, "Now you have given us a theoretical solution of the problem; please tell us by what technique we are to apply the solution." My answer would be, "If you agree that this is the solution, you should be statesman enough to find your own technique."

As hinted above, in considering the desirability of the *unified* parish it is also in line with the new time that we have a *much larger* parish than we have ever before imagined possible. The people who have come to live in terms of paved roads, the high-powered automobile, the airplane, the radio—will never again be satisfied to think in terms of small community limits. Formerly, and even in many places at the present time, certain church denominations made use of the "circuit" plan or the "out-station" plan. My father started his ministry in the United Brethren Church in Southern Indiana as a circuit rider. No one point in the area that he covered was more important than another point. He had his pony and saddlebags, and would ride on a two-weeks' tour through the forest, visiting little settlements or neighborhoods in the interest of the church. The places visited were separate and distinct units with no socially organic relationship to each other. This plan has been condemned because it developed into a system in which "the preacher did not preach in the place where he lived, and did not live in the place where he preached." It grew into the peddling of a sermon

from place to place by a man who had no community interest in his spiritual customers. The "out-station" plan, it must be admitted, was a development largely for the purpose of adding to the income of a preacher sufficient to make it possible for him to be maintained "on a charge". Under this system the church which he served with the greater part of his time and near which he lived was in a town, and he drove his horse and buggy a few miles into the country Sunday to preach a sermon to a group of country folk assembled in a school house or in a country church building. This was not at all in recognition of the "larger parish idea", but came alarmingly near to being an exploitation of a group of farmers by the town churches in order to obtain money for the support of a city preacher. A man who is a manager for an insurance company in a large district stated recently that as a boy he lived in a little town twelve miles from a large city. He said that members of his family sometimes got into the city as often as three or four times a year. It was a day's job, when the roads were muddy, to drive into the city and back, even with a good driving team, and spend the necessary time trading. Now that little town is on a paved road, and the trip occupies fifteen to twenty minutes. To run into the city and back now takes no more time than it used to in the town to walk to the post-office and back.

The neighborhood five miles out from town where there was formerly maintained a preaching point as though it were a separate community may be likened

now to a point twenty miles distant. To the extent that there are mutual interests between these points they may be considered in the same community. Therefore, your church for the new community may serve this larger area *as a unit,* without considering any part of that area an out-station in relation to any other part.

Another new factor that conditions the type of church which will function in the new community is the modern view that it is the function of religion to serve the community. Twenty-five years ago some of us who were young men starting in to active life, and interested in the church, used to discuss together the new social vision coming into religion. We used to wonder what it all meant, and under what name it would function. "Christian service", "social service", "the social gospel", "social welfare"—these terms had not come into general use in connection with the work of the church. We were just passing out of the period in which individual soul-salvation in a future world had been the business of the church, and controversies were entirely on the question as to how that objective could be obtained. You could not be saved in Heaven unless you had been immersed in water by a properly authorized person; or unless you believed in an angry God who had foreordained that a definite number of humans should be lost; or unless you believed that Jesus, although entirely innocent himself, was killed according to a divine plan in order to save the sinner;—or unless you believed any one of a large number of other things for which the different denominations stood.

Now "The Kingdom of God" came to have a new significance in meaning. Men began to believe and to say that it was an ideal social order, regardless of whether it was confined to world life or reached eternally beyond. There was a shift from the identification of Jesus with God to the identification of Jesus with humanity. "The Son of Man" was the phrase that took preëminence. To "serve humanity" came to be considered at least a very large part of desirable Christian behavior. A "saved" world here and now was advocated and it came to connote as much the cleaning up and glorifying of the physical environment in which the people live as the making over of the people to react favorably to such an ideal environment.

It must be admitted that there was a good deal of gush and froth to this talk of general humanitarianism. Many people began to get the feeling of "world citizenship". "There is no religion without service, and no service to God except service to humanity" was the slogan which became current in socio-religious circles in the early part of the twentieth century. "The world is my home, and all men are my brothers" appeared upon the letterheads and other literature of men who got this social vision. There were even some who gave up the ordinary tasks of life and traveled around the world "barnstorming", as it were, for the social gospel. It was as though they thought the only thing necessary to make the world a Paradise of brotherhood was to talk to people about it, and get them all emotionally interested in believing that it would be so.

But it just didn't happen. Regardless of all the talk about "social evangelism" the world stayed about as it was. One may almost be inclined to believe that, except for *one reason,* the World War would have destroyed the vision altogether. After years of propaganda for world brotherhood, instead of forming "the parliament of man, the federation of the world—" we "brothers" flew at each other's throats like wild beasts. It was a peculiar culmination of the attempt to promulgate a new vision of a redeemed humanity in terms of social relationship. I said that one might believe that this cataclysm would have destroyed the social vision altogether except for *one reason.* That one reason is to be found in the fact that a few years before the Great Madness overtook us, there had been started a Community Movement. The place to start making the world a better place in which to live was found to be in one's own community. If you could not make citizens of a democracy immediately out of Mohammedan Moros, you might do something to develop the cause of democracy as a citizen where you lived. If you could not bring about world brotherhood, you might get the folks in your own town to coöperate in activities for the common welfare. If you could not build a world court house you might at least see that the court house in your own county was honestly built, occupied by honest officials, and kept in a sanitary condition. If you could not make over adults into persons who would enjoy recreation in God's great playground of the world, you could at least establish one playground for the little children in your own community.

In a word, the *community* was discovered as the basic unit of all social organization, and its welfare was the only decent objective in life. True, we had very restricted notions about the community, as to the number of people that might live in it, or the geographical area that it might cover. Perhaps as we were feeling our way blindly into this new field of endeavor, it was well that we did have just such restricted notions. Everything grows from the simpler to the more complex. Now if it is the business of the church to introduce the Kingdom of God into the world, then it is the business of the church in the community to introduce the Kingdom of God into the community. The Christian church, then, is serving Christ when it serves the community.

When the writer presented this philosophy a few years ago in talking to the Ministerial Union of Topeka, a prominent minister (who however himself fully agreed with the viewpoint) in order to awaken discussion declared "you have laid dynamite under the church of all the past and under all the theories and dogmas that have ever been promulgated in the name of religion." It does not seem to me to be so. Rather was it necessary for religion to evolve from stage to stage in the development of theories about a satisfactory condition somewhere (even though in another world)—then the possibility of introducing that condition into this world—and then the revelation (through failure and pain) that the responsibility of the individual and the group is to put on a *demonstration* of that condition in the only place where the individual or group can

demonstrate anything—that is, in the community where they live.

With this new adaptation of the old religion to the community life, it was natural that experiments should be tried here and there. The church must construct and supervise a playground; a swimming pool; a gymnasium. The minister must be a busy worker, doing, himself, all the stunts that should be done in making the community a better place in which to live. It took us a long time to realize, and some who got the vision do not yet realize it, that the church has the same old function of being a promulgator of religious theory, and inspirer of humans toward divine action. In other words, in the evolution of doctrine the people at large have (although most of them probably do not realize the fact) adopted a new creed. It is the Creed of the New Christian Community. Its articles of faith attest to faith in humans, and faith in the community which is made up of humans. It presents Jesus as the great divine inspirer of men to live well in human relations in the community where they *do* live. It believes that to the extent that you attempt to live the ideal community life with religious zeal, the social order will move step by step toward the divine pattern. The community movement *is* a religion. It is the Christian religion—applied.

We see now that it is not the function of the church to attend to the busy work of community betterment but to maintain the spiritual vision and worship, to renew the spiritual and physical energy of men, women,

and children whose only decent mission in life is continually to be building the new community.

Does any one dare deny that this general belief on the part of the common people over the United States demands a new church to function in a new community?

CHAPTER XXII

A COMMUNITY FORECAST

It is a dangerous, and often a thankless, task to prophesy. A forecast must be based upon an understanding of past and present trends. Life processes tend to go in fluctuating lines, and therefore there can be no assurance that a tendency of any given time and place will continue in the direction which it has manifested formerly. However, in spite of this fluctuating tendency, there is doubtless a persistent upward movement in the process of cultural development. One may safely assume that changes very clearly in process at the present time will continue in the near future.

It is my purpose here to picture the new community as it will appear if present trends continue for any considerable period of time.

New means of communication and transportation will undoubtedly require that our conception of the size of the community be very greatly enlarged. This may mean that we will see the time when towns themselves will coöperate with each other in forming the larger community. Just as we have developed "Greater New York" and "Greater Chicago",—so we may see the combination of a number of areas that are now considered "communities", to form a greater area which

will have so many practices in common that it may properly be considered a unit.

This may help to solve the problem of rural government. Except that from a kind of isolation it has just grown so, one can see no reason whatever for our present division into legal units. We have now the municipality usually termed "incorporated village", the township, the school district, the county, the senatorial district, the congressional district, and the state. One may live simultaneously in all of these units of government.

No one of these units within the state is any longer a natural economic or social unit. The incorporated town does not exist economically or socially without its surrounding agricultural population. The legal township is a sort of a super-imposed thing due to the fact that surveyors established the unit of approximately six miles square as a convenient basis for mapping formerly unsurveyed areas. May it not be that in the new time this unit will disappear altogether?

Many students of the rural community problem have called attention to the fact that we need some sort of a "rural municipality". The new community may be expected to consist of the town population and the farm population in a given area where there are common interests and common social and economic practices. One can see little reason why such an area should not be *incorporated as a legal unit*. To the extent that this shall become the natural economic and social unit, and also the legal unit, it would present desirable possi-

bilities also as a school district. The community school would then be a reality, and the school district would be co-extensive with the natural lines of the community. We already find this condition prevailing in the city municipality, and one cannot see readily why it should not prevail also in the rural municipality.

It has become a favorite practice recently among research workers in the field of rural sociology, to map out the natural communities of a county. This is to assume that the county is a larger legal unit and that communities must be necessarily smaller units within the county. When the paved road is a reality everywhere that roads extend—and even with the airplane a common means of transportation—may it not be that a community may come to extend through an entire county and possibly even beyond county lines?

During somewhat recent years we have had in parts of the United States a very rapid development in the extending of community high schools. In many areas the district lines have been formed according to the vote of the people under the direction of the local leaders. We have also seen a movement for rural school consolidation. Now we are discovering that many of the community high school districts and consolidated school districts were too small, both from the standpoint of available assessed valuation, and available personnel to form an adequate student body numerically. Are we to have a new consolidation movement? If so, will this mean that many high school buildings of somewhat recent construction, will be torn down and more cen-

trally located buildings erected to accommodate the merged district; or will it mean that the high school building in one community will be greatly enlarged and that the high school students from a much larger area will be brought by public conveyance to this common center?

As a city builds extensions of itself out into what were rural areas, and thus becomes an orb with satellites extending out from it, we find the tendency for central business houses to establish branches in the satellite area. There are evidences which indicate that something of this sort may occur in the business development of the new rural community. When a distributing company seeks a population of 200,000 and places a central store at the geographical center of the population group with smaller agencies scattered out into the smaller towns around the center—it appears that business may have begun to recognize the very greatly increased common area of the new community.

Counties are proving much too small to perform adequately the functions which they were intended to perform in ox-team days. In Kansas there are 105 counties in a few of which there are less than 1500 people per county. In the whole 105 counties there are no more than twelve that have a population of beyond 25,000 each. When the problem of distance has been solved it is difficult to see why the population group ranging from 1500 to 25,000 should have its own separate and complete county government. A somewhat parallel situation would be brought about if a city

of 500,000 were cut up into fifty or more separate units each with a full set of officers, institutions and so forth.

Many legal county institutions are quite inefficient because of the fact of the very small number of people to whom they minister. The juvenile court in a rural county is almost a joke. There can be no full-time, trained juvenile judge, or efficient probation officer, or a detention home—therefore there can be practically no juvenile court practice whatever.

Many a *county farm* has from three to twelve inmates, thus forming an institution that deals with so few people that it is utterly impossible to maintain high institutional standards under the direction of a qualified and well-trained institutional superintendent.

The condition of the county jail in the United States is such that it has come to be recognized as our most disgraceful institution. The reason is that a county is much too small a unit as a basis for maintaining an adequate prison or an adequate house of correction.

If the full set of county officials were necessary for the conduct of the governmental business of a rural area, certainly it does not follow that this entire quota is essential to serve as few as 1500 people in such an area. There is very definite need for the merging of counties. In rural areas there are many cases where from three to eight counties might now be merged into one great legal unit with one set of officers and one set of institutions. The future may see a state divided into a few large districts, and each district made up of good sized "municipalities". This will mean the total

obliteration of present lines of counties, townships, school districts, incorporated villages, etc. This may be one of the ways in which by simplifying government, society will be able to make very large savings and therefore the individual will be relieved of the excessive burden of taxation.

The picture of the church in this coming new community is an interesting and inviting one indeed. The great community temple is at the center. "A way shall there be, and a highway; and the redeemed of the Lord shall walk therein". The "way", however, will probably be the paved "highway", and the "redeemed" will be passing over it in automobiles at the rate of sixty miles an hour. It may even be an air-way with the redeemed flying in from the four quarters of the much enlarged community to have a part in the activities at the community center. With one church in this county-wide community there will be supported a minister who is as efficient as any minister in a parish in a great city. Where we have some 4,000 clergymen in a state, if the number could be reduced to not more than 400 it seems to me that it would be a great improvement on the situation. "Bigger and better clergymen" might well be a slogan in a campaign to develop this new phase of community life.

One sees in this vision of the new church in the new community that is to be, a great orchestra, a magnificent chorus choir—"a multitude keeping holy day". The music will be under the direction of a very highly-trained and well-paid director of sacred music. The

church school will be a real educational institution, headed by a superintendent who has qualifications equal to those of the secular school superintendent; and with a faculty of teachers trained and paid as are teachers in our common schools. This new departmentalized institution will not need to seek to build itself up out of the community, but it will be the great spiritual and social power-house to successfully empower all the processes of the new community life.

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3Jan'40			
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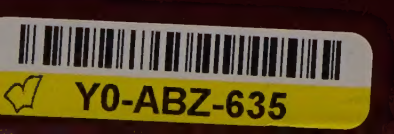
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